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REMINISCENCES OF JESUS

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REMINISCENCES OF JESUS
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H. D. A. MAJOR, D.D

PRINCIPAL OF RIPON HALL, OXFORD
EDITOR OF "THE MODERN CHURCHMAN"

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TO
MY WIFE'S MOTHER

I DEDICATE
THIS LITTLE BOOK.

"By identifying the new learning with heresy, you make orthodoxy synonymous with ignorance."—ERASMUS.

FOREWORD

THE series of manuals, of which this is the seventh, is intended to place before readers of ordinary education clear and brief statements of various sides of Christian belief and practice, as they appear in the light of modern criticism and research. The writers are all loyal members of the Church of England. Though they cannot avoid controversy, they write not primarily with controversial intent, but rather to give voice to the convictions of a school in the Church which feels that the times require a fresh setting forth of the essential truths of Christianity.

PREFACE

To add another to the books on St. Mark's Gospel demands apology or at least explanation.

The experience of reading St. Mark's Gospel many times in the Greek in parallel columns with the corresponding sections of the other Gospels, has not only impressed upon me a number of important points in which St. Mark's Gospel differs from the other Gospels, but has also convinced me of the very primitive and archaic character of this Gospel, and that the primitive and uncontradicted Church tradition which ascribed this Gospel to St. Mark and declared it to contain the actual memoirs of St. Peter is based on fact, and so is worthy of acceptance by modern men.

It will be said that there is nothing very novel in this conclusion. That is certainly the case, but I do not know of any book which aims at showing this and nothing more than this in a plain and simple way for ordinary English readers.

One observes a growing tendency among those who are not scholars, but who for various reasons are led to abandon the traditional belief in the verbal inspiration and historical infallibility of the Gospels, to jump to the extreme view that the Gospels are mainly mythical productions. Whoever will be at the pains to read this little book will

see that so far as St. Mark's Gospel is concerned there are very good grounds for regarding the mythical view as being quite as far from the truth as the plenary inspiration view.

My teachers at Oxford, chief of whom were the Rev. W. C. Allen, Sub-Rector of Exeter College (later Archdeacon of Manchester), and the revered Professor Sanday, taught me to study the Gospels in the modern way. This led me to abandon in a number of particulars the traditional view of the Gospels, but it also led me to feel a growing regard for the Gospel of St. Mark. The more I studied it the more I realized that I, though more than eighteen centuries later, actually shared the privilege with the first-century Christians, of being a recipient of the reminiscences of a disciple of Jesus, the chief of the Twelve. In short, that the Second Gospel enshrines the reminiscences of St. Peter, delivered orally in Aramaic but translated into Greek by St. Mark and transcribed by him.

John Ruskin wrote :

"The more I think of it the more I find this conclusion impressed upon me—the greatest thing a human soul ever does in this world is to *see* something, and *tell* what it saw in a plain way."

It is what I see in St. Mark's Gospel that I tell simply and briefly in this book, and I venture to hope that those who read it will feel that its perusal has led them to realize that the search for the historical Jesus is not so fruitless an affair as some modern writers may have led them to suppose.

“Do we know Jesus?” asks Weinel; and his reply is this: “Yes, we know Him very well indeed.” That, I believe, is what my readers will feel if they will allow me to guide them through St. Mark’s Gospel.

The knowledge of Jesus they will gain from this source will not solve all their questions about Him, nor will it unveil completely the mystery of His Personality, but it will show them how He appeared to those who consorted with Him, and I venture to predict that they will find Him to be as unlike the Christ of traditional dogmatism as He is unlike the effeminate figure in nineteenth-century church windows, and though there is much about Him which they will not understand, at least they will understand why His disciples hailed Him as the Messiah, and why the Christian Religion is no mere eclectic combination of Jewish Messianic expectations and Pagan mystery cults, but the apotheosis of the Personality of Jesus.

I wish to express my thanks to Mr. J. D. Caldwell, B.A., of Ripon Hall, Oxford, for his careful correction of proof and verification of references, and to the Rev. J. S. Bezzant, Vice-Principal of Ripon Hall, and the Rev. R. D. Richardson, B.A., B.Litt., for their compilation of the indices of this little volume.

HENRY D. A. MAJOR.

RIPON HALL,
OXFORD,
Michaelmas, 1924.

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REMINISCENCES OF JESUS

CHAPTER I

THE EXTERNAL EVIDENCE FOR THE EARLY ORIGIN AND HIGH VALUATION OF THE SECOND GOSPEL

THE purpose of this little book, as I have stated in my Preface, is to present the evidence for regarding the Gospel which bears the name of Mark as a document of very great historic value. This high appreciation of St. Mark's Gospel is a product of recent growth, and may be claimed to be the result of modern critical research coming to the support of primitive Church tradition. In comparison with the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John, St. Mark's Gospel was so little regarded in the sub-apostolic age that it appeared hardly worth while to transcribe it.

It seems not improbable that all our existing copies of the Gospel owe their origin to a single exemplar, which in the last quarter of the first century was in a seriously dilapidated condition. Apparently it had become effaced in some

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places and had lost its concluding paragraphs (*στίχοι*).*

This neglect of St. Mark's Gospel will seem all the more surprising when we realize that it contains the actual reminiscences of an eye-witness of the Ministry of Jesus Christ.

The earliest external evidence for this Gospel is united in asserting two important facts about it.

(1) That John Mark, the cousin (*ἀνεψιός*) of Barnabas, and the son of that Mary who had a spacious house in Jerusalem where the primitive Christian Church assembled (*Acts* xii. 12), and where it is even possible that the Last Supper was celebrated, was the author of this Gospel. Mark, we know, accompanied St. Paul on his first missionary journey (*Acts* xii. 25-xiii. 13); afterwards (*c.* 47 A.D.) he travelled with Barnabas on an evangelistic expedition to Cyprus (*Acts* xv. 39); some twelve years later he reappears as a helper of St. Paul, who was then a prisoner in Rome (*Col.* iv. 10, *Philem.* 23; cf. *2 Tim.* iv. 11, where he is associated with Timothy). At a later stage he is found co-operating with St. Peter at Rome (figuratively called Babylon in *1 Pet.* v. 13), when that Apostle describes him affectionately as "Marcus, my son."

* "It is not inconceivable that the compiler of our Gospel according to Matthew may have been acquainted only with the mutilated form of Mark that ends with xvi. 8 (at *ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ*...). Be that as it may, the importance of the demonstration of the transmission of Mark through a single mutilated copy lies chiefly in this—that it illustrates the extreme narrowness of the channel through which our knowledge of the external events of the Ministry has come down to us" (Prof. F. C. Burkitt in *The American Journal of Theology*, April, 1911, p. 175).

Mark was one who was not in the first rank of Christian leaders—he was born, it would seem, to serve, not to lead. Moreover, he had had the misfortune of having been judged adversely by St. Paul and of having had that adverse judgment recorded in *Acts* (xv. 37–39); yet there could have been few men, not of the Twelve, who had a more intimate and varied knowledge of primitive Christian origins and personages than John Mark, whom primitive Church testimony credits with being the author of the Second Gospel.

(2) That the Gospel of Mark is a translation and transcript from memory of St. Peter's memoirs as he delivered them orally to his converts.

The evidence for this statement is as follows. I give it in chronological order:—

(1) *Papias*, Bishop of Hierapolis in the Lycus valley, who wrote his *Expositions of the Oracles of the Lord* (of which only fragments are preserved) in the second quarter of the second century, gives in the passage cited by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History* (iii. 39) the following account of the origin of the Second Gospel:—

“And the elder * used to say (ἔλεγε, frequentative imperfect) this: Mark having become *Peter's interpreter* (ἐρμηνευτῆς Πέτρον) wrote down *accurately* (ἀκριβῶς), as far as he remembered what Christ either said or did; not however *in order* (τάξει), for he neither heard the Lord nor followed Him, but

* Possibly the Presbyter John, see McGiffert's *Eusebius*, p. 172, and cf. Weiffenbach's *Die Papias Fragmente über Marcus und Matthæus*, p. 26 f.

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subsequently, as I said, (followed) Peter, who used to suit his instructions to the needs of his hearers, but with no intention of giving *a connected account of the Lord's discourses* (σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν λογίων), so that Mark made no error while he thus wrote some things as he remembered them. For he was careful of one thing—not to omit any of the things which he had heard, and not to state any of them falsely.”

(2) *Justin Martyr* (martyred about 165 A.D.), in his *Dialogue with Trypho* (106), refers to St. Mark's Gospel as the *Memoirs of Peter* (ἀπομνημονεύματα Πέτρου). Some have alleged that Justin is here referring to the Pseudo-Peter, but, as Swete remarks, the statement is arbitrary.*

(3) *Irenæus*, who succeeded Pothinus (Bishop of Lyons and Vienne, martyred 177 A.D.) and had himself been a pupil of Polycarp, who was Bishop of Smyrna when St. Ignatius wrote his epistles (c. 110), writes in his great work against Gnosticism (*Hær.* iii. 1. 1) :

(a) “Matthew published his Gospel among the Hebrews in their own dialect (*i.e.* Aramaic) while Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome and founding the Church. *After their departure* (μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἔξοδον) Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, also transmitted to us in writing those things that Peter used to preach.”

(b) Mark, the interpreter and follower of Peter (*interpres et sectator Petri*), thus began to write his Gospel :

* The Pseudo-Peter seems undoubtedly to have made use of the Second Gospel.

"The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God," etc. (*Hær.* iii. 10. 6).

(4) *Tertullian* (born 150-160), a presbyter of Carthage and an extraordinarily able and voluminous author, in his treatise against Marcion (iv. 5), writes :

"And what Mark published may be said to be Peter's, whose interpreter Mark was" (*cujus interpretres Marcus*).

(5) *Clement of Alexandria*, master of the famous catechetical School of Alexandria from about 190 to 203, is cited by Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 14) in support of the Petrine origin of *Mk.* :

"Clement gives the tradition of the earliest presbyters as to the order of the Gospels, in the following manner : 'The Gospel according to Mark had this occasion. As Peter had preached the Word publicly at Rome, and declared the Gospel by the Spirit, many who were present requested that Mark, who had followed him for a long time and remembered his sayings, should write them out, and having composed the Gospel he gave it to those who had requested it. When Peter learned of this, he neither directly forbade nor encouraged it.'"
(Eusebius quotes from the *Hypotyposes*.)

(6) *Origen*, Clement's famous successor, writes, as cited by Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 25) :

"The second (Gospel) is by Mark, who composed it according to the instructions of Peter, who in his Catholic epistle acknowledges him as a son."

These six weighty authorities are agreed that the Second Gospel is by St. Mark, and that it contains St. Peter's memoirs of the Ministry of Jesus. This, as Professor A. C. McGiffert asserts, is

"the universal tradition of antiquity," and "is repeated over and over again by the Fathers" (*op. cit.*, Note, p. 116).

Yet, as the late Professor H. B. Swete adds,

"While no doubts are expressed by any early writer as to the genuineness of St. Mark, it cannot be denied that the Gospel received comparatively little attention from the theologians of the ancient Church. This relative neglect is noticeable from the very first" (Swete's *St. Mark*, p. xxxiv.).

This neglect of the Second Gospel was probably due to three causes. First, in the apostolic and sub-apostolic age, Christians, who as a body possessed very little in the way of literary tastes and habits, preferred, like Papias, the living voice to documentary statements.

Secondly, Christ's return seemed so imminent that there was felt to be neither need nor time for the study of the details of His earth-life. As however, the imminent anticipation of the *parousia* waned, and the need for preserving the story of the Saviour's life and teaching from oblivion and corruption became obvious, especially in the face of Docetic and Gnostic speculation, recourse had to be had to written memoirs.

Thirdly, by the time that the Church generally

was disposed to exchange its imminent eschatological expectations for historic foundations, almost the whole of *Mark* had been incorporated into the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. And as these newer Gospels included and preserved a great deal of additional material, consisting mainly of precious records of the teaching of Jesus, the ordinary Christian naturally preferred them to the Second Gospel. Indeed, had it not been that the leaders of the Church, who were repositories and guardians of the primitive tradition, valued the Gospel of Mark as containing the Petrine memoirs of Jesus, it seems highly probable that that Gospel, for various reasons which will appear more clearly later, would not have been included in the primitive evangelical Canon of Scripture as one of the Sacred Four to which Irenæus, the *Muratorian Fragment*, and the *Diatessaron* of Tatian bear witness. Thus the most weighty external evidence for the early date of Mark's Gospel and for the high value set upon it by the primitive Church is twofold.

First, that Mark's Gospel was included before 150 A.D. as one of the Four Canonical Gospels ; and secondly, that Mark's Gospel was actually incorporated before 100 A.D., possibly even before 75 A.D., into two of the Four Canonical Gospels, as a most reliable source for the life of Jesus.

The proof of this incorporation of *Mark* into *Matthew* and *Luke* is overwhelming, although it was very long before it was recognized and accepted by Christian scholars.

Professor Stanton presents the evidence of the

incorporation briefly and cogently in the following statement :—

Features of Relationship between the (Synoptic) Gospels exhibiting the Priority of Mark.

“(a) While the narratives of the Birth and Infancy of Jesus in St. Matthew and St. Luke are widely different, these Gospels begin to agree with one another and with St. Mark from the point at which the latter begins, namely, with the Ministry of John the Baptist.

“(b) By far the greater part of the subject-matter of St. Mark is found in *both* St. Matthew and St. Luke, and there is on the whole a close parallelism between all three in the arrangement of this matter. In other words, there is a common outline ; into this in St. Matthew and St. Luke a considerable amount of additional matter has been quite diversely introduced.

“(c) With, very few exceptions, our first and third evangelists, so far as they omit incidents or sayings given in St. Mark, do not omit the same ones ; the result being that almost all the sections in St. Mark are found also in one or other of the two remaining synoptics ; . . .

“(d) When the sequence of narratives in St. Matthew or in St. Luke differs from that in St. Mark, the other one agrees with St. Mark. In other words, St. Matthew and St. Luke do not, save in one or two instances, unite against St. Mark as to order. When all three do not agree in respect to it, we have the same sequence in St. Matthew and St. Mark, or in St. Luke and St. Mark.*

* “ The order of the whole of St. Mark, except of course what is peculiar to that Gospel, is confirmed either by St. Matthew

“(e) There is, further, an agreement which is generally considerable and sometimes very full between St. Mark and each of the two other Synoptics in the manner in which incidents are related, and in phraseology. All three frequently agree in these respects. But there are also commonly particulars of this kind in which St. Matthew and St. Luke each separately agrees with St. Mark. On the whole the correspondence is closest between St. Matthew and St. Mark; but there are some cases in which the correspondence is closer between St. Luke and the parallel passage in St. Mark than between the latter and a parallel in St. Matthew. Finally, it is to be observed that the amount of agreement in statements or words between St. Matthew and St. Luke alone, in all those portions of their Gospels which are in substance contained in St. Mark, is trifling in comparison with the agreement of each separately, and even of both together, with St. Mark. Now, if . . . we suppose that the authors of these Gospels used St. Mark, or a document resembling St. Mark, and each in his own way revised and supplemented it, we have a simple and natural explanation of these phenomena.” *

It should be recognized that this is a *statement of incontestable facts*, not an hypothesis or a speculation or argument in which possibly some fallacy lurks. It is a statement of facts which admit of but one conclusion, namely, that Mark's Gospel existed prior to Matthew's and Luke's, and that it was so highly valued as an authority for the Saviour's

or St. Luke, and the greater part of it by both” (Sir John Hawkins in *Horæ Synopticæ*, 2nd ed., p. 114, Note 3).

* *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, Part ii. p. 34 f.

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life that they used nearly every bit of it in their own compositions. Canon Streeter's latest hypothesis dealing with the relation of Luke's Gospel to Mark's does not materially affect these conclusions.*

It is to be observed that Mark is described by Papias and Irenæus and Tertullian as the *ἐρμηνευτής* or *interpretes* of Peter. This undoubtedly means that Mark was Peter's dragoman or interpreter, and translated Peter's Aramaic preaching into Greek. No one acquainted with Semitic languages can fail to feel the Aramaic background of the Marcan Greek. The rendering of *ἐρμηνευτής* by *dragoman* would have caused little difficulty if there had not been other canonical writings claiming Petrine authorship which are written in Greek, and if the Pentecostal *glossolalia* had not been interpreted as the gift of speaking foreign languages. If, however, *1 Peter* was written by Silvanus, a Greek-speaking disciple of St. Peter, under the general direction of the Apostle, the difficulty is overcome.†

Another difficulty has been removed with the recognition by modern New Testament scholars that the *glossolalia*, "gift of tongues," was ecstatic spiritual utterance and not the gift of speaking foreign languages.‡

* "Fresh Light on the Synoptic Problem," *Hibbert Journal*, October, 1921.

† The very conservative Zahn sees in *1 Pet.* v. 12 a confirmation of this view, and goes so far as to write of Silvanus: "therefore Peter left the composition of the letter largely to him." Cf. Zahn's *Introduction to the N. T.* (E. T.), vol. iii. pp. 149-150.

‡ See Prof. Goudge's excursus on the *Glossolalia* in *1 Cor.* (pp. 134-137). *Westminster Commentaries*, 3rd ed. revised, and Dr. Arthur Wright's *Some Problems of the New Testament* (pp. 277-302) (1898).

It is to be noted in the Patristic testimonies cited that the tradition which assigns to the Second Gospel a Roman origin is only definitely affirmed by Clement of Alexandria, and is not precisely stated by Irenæus. Hence it is distinctly late.

The question whether the Gospel was written during St. Peter's lifetime is not quite easily answered. Clement of Alexandria clearly states that it was: Irenæus appears to say that it was not. However, W. C. Allen (in *St. Mark*, Oxford Church Biblical Commentary, p. 2), Harnack (*Date of Acts*, p. 130), and Chapman (in *J. T. S.* vi. pp. 563-569), regard Irenæus as being in agreement with Clement. What Irenæus is really arguing, as we see by the context, is that the preaching of Peter had been preserved to the Church *after* his death (ἐξῆδος) by having been written down *before* his death.

If it be the case that the Second Gospel contains the Memoirs of Peter and was written by Mark during the Apostle's lifetime, then it follows that we have in this Gospel the account of the Ministry of Jesus as given by an eye-witness. A minute examination of the Gospel itself will, we believe, be found to give convincing support to the claim which is made by the external evidence. We now turn to this undertaking.

CHAPTER II

THE SCOPE AND CHRISTOLOGY OF THE SECOND GOSPEL

THE scope of the Second Gospel is much more limited than that of the three other Canonical Gospels.

Mark's Gospel begins with John the Baptist's Mission ; Matthew's with the Birth of Jesus ; Luke's with the prediction of the Birth of the Baptist ; the Fourth Gospel with the Eternal Word in the beginning, *πρὸς τὸν Θεόν*. This limitation of range in the Second Gospel is a sign of its archaic character. It covers the period of the primitive apostolic testimony.

“ Of the men therefore which have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and went out among us, beginning from the baptism of John, unto the day when He was received up from us, of these must one become a witness with us of His resurrection ” (*Acts* i. 21, 22)

are the conditions of apostleship laid down by St. Peter. It is no curious coincidence, therefore, that the Gospel containing his memoirs should possess the same range as the primitive apostolic testimony.

The most difficult as it is the most important

subject of Gospel teaching is Christology, and it may be best on that account to deal with it first.

Apart from *Mk.* i. 1, where our Lord is called Jesus Christ (the title Son of God here is omitted by the greater weight of textual authority), He is usually called in this Gospel simply Jesus or He. The title the Messiah (ὁ Χριστός) occurs in viii. 29, xiv. 61, xv. 32. We have Messiah without the article in i. 34,* ix. 41. In this Gospel Jesus is never called absolutely "the Lord" (ὁ Κύριος), a form which is very frequent in Luke's Gospel and also in *Acts* (cf. ii. 36) and in the Fourth Gospel and the Pauline Epistles. The phrase "the Lord" in v. 19 is shown clearly to refer to Jehovah or God by reference to the parallel passage in Luke. Its use in xi. 3, as W. C. Allen points out, is intentionally ambiguous: in xiii. 20 it refers to Jehovah, which is proved by the use of "the precautionary passive" † in the parallel passage in *Mt.*; in *Mk.* xii. 37 it is introduced in the form of a question.

The exact significance of the title as applied to Jesus, whether in the absolute form "the Lord" or "the Lord Jesus" or "the Lord Jesus Christ" (ὁ Κύριος or ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς or ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός), and its relation to the mystery-religions are outside the scope of our investigation, but the fact that "the Lord" (ὁ Κύριος) is not a title of

* Though well supported textually, this may be an early gloss from St. Luke (cf. Swete, *in loc.*).

† Cf. G. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, pp. 224-226. The Jews of this period tried by various means to avoid using God's name, hence they used instead the passive case of the verb, or such phrases as "the highest," "heaven," "the angels," etc.

our Lord in the Second Gospel is an indication of the primitive and pre-Pauline character of its Christology. This is observable in the Second Gospel's account of our Lord's Baptism. It is then that His Messiahship is revealed to Him. His Messianic consciousness dates from that point. At His Baptism He becomes conscious of the Divine Voice hailing Him as the Son, the Beloved (two Messianic titles).* At His Baptism He is conscious of being anointed by the Holy Spirit, and there seems no doubt that in the mind of the writer of this Gospel it is this Anointing which constitutes Him the Divine Son. This is in harmony with the Christology of the Petrine discourses in *Acts* i.-xii. Their Christology is summed up in *Acts* x. 38, where St. Peter speaks of "Jesus of Nazareth, how that God *anointed* Him with the Holy Ghost and with power: who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil: for God was with Him." This anointing with the Holy Spirit was viewed as the fulfilment of Messianic prophecy, especially of the words of Isaiah cited (according to Luke's account) by Jesus Himself in the synagogue of Nazareth and applied to Himself (*Lk.* iv. 18).

"The Spirit of the Lord God is upon Me, because the Lord hath *anointed* Me to preach good tidings unto the meek," etc. (*Isaiah* lxi. 1).

Professor Lock, in a paper † on the Christology of *Acts* i.-xii., writes of that Christology:—

* Cf. Armitage Robinson's *Ephesians on "The Beloved,"* pp. 229-235.

† *The Bible and Christian Life*, pp. 97-113.

“First, then, the Lord, whom the Apostles preach, is essentially a man. He is a man with whom indeed God is present in a marked way; a man who has been raised from the dead, and exalted to the right hand of God; yet a Man anointed by God for His work. He is “a man approved of God unto you by mighty works and wonders, and signs, which God did by Him” (ii. 22) (pp. 99-100).

The Christology of Mark is plainly that of *Acts* i.-xii.; the Christology of primitive Jewish Christendom which survived among the Ebionites and Nazarenes after the progressive elements in the Church had as a whole embraced a new Christology. This Marcan Christology is called Adoptionist. It thinks of Jesus primarily as a man, a good man, called by God to the office of Messiah, and anointed with the Holy Spirit. His life of perfect obedience to the Divine Will leads to His Resurrection and finally to His exaltation to the right hand of God, whence, it is believed, He shall return shortly with Divine Power to judge mankind.

This type of Christology is pre-Pauline, and most certainly pre-Johannine. By this it is not meant that it did not survive beside the Christological teaching of these two great theologians, but only that it preceded them. It appears to have survived in Jewish Christianity for a century or two, in fact, as long as Jewish Christianity itself survived.

But Jewish Christianity rapidly became an ecclesiastical backwater, and therefore perhaps it was not unnatural that this Adoptionist Christology should survive in it.

The point is that this Christology is essentially primitive. It was the only Christology possible for those who had known the Lord according to the flesh (κατὰ σάρκα). It is not opposed to the Logos-Christology, it is precedent and complementary to it ; it is the Christology of the Manhood in Christ, as the Logos Christology is the Christology of the Godhead in Christ. They supplement each other and the later Christology subsumes the earlier. This Adoptionist Christology satisfied Jews, but to philosophical Greeks coming to primitive Apostles and saying, "Sirs, we would see Jesus," which means for the philosophical mind, Jesus in His eternal relations, this Adoptionist Christology was entirely inadequate : and so the Christology of the Fourth Gospel arose and prevailed in Ephesus, Antioch, and Alexandria. But the point is that the Christology of the Second Gospel is of this very primitive Adoptionist * type, and that it is the Christology of the early Church of Jerusalem, which claimed St. Peter as its founder.

* The term Adoptionist is unfortunate and misleading. I should prefer *pneumatic* or *prophetic*. I have used *Adoptionist* to describe the earliest pre-Logos Christology, simply because dogmatic theologians use this label

CHAPTER III

THE PROGRESSIVE UNVEILING OF THE MESSIAHSHIP OF JESUS IN THE SECOND GOSPEL

ANOTHER point to be noted about the Marcan Christology is the well-defined stages in its unveiling of the Messiahship of Jesus. These stages are in certain instances blurred, or ignored, or contradicted, in the other Canonical Gospels, and yet there can be no reasonable doubt that Mark records their true order. Mark's order is much too unexpected and original to have been invented by him, and it certainly serves no apologetic purpose, and in some ways counteracts prevalent contemporary tendencies.

First, there is the unveiling of the Messiahship to the Messiah Himself at His Baptism. In Mark at this stage the Messiahship is unveiled only to Jesus Himself. It was an experience, a vision vouchsafed to Jesus alone. No one standing on the banks of the Jordan on the occasion of the Baptism of Jesus, would according to the Marcan account have seen or heard anything unusual. They would not have seen the heavens *cleft asunder* (σχίζομένους) nor the descending Spirit, nor would

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they have heard the Divine Voice revealing the Messiahship. There is no evidence according to the Marcan Gospel that any one except Jesus experienced these things. They were subjective, not objective experiences. This becomes clear as soon as we examine the Marcan account minutely and comparatively.

Mk. i. 9-11 interpreted comparatively with *Mt.* iii. 13-17, *Lk.* iii. 21, 22 :

"It came to pass in those (ἐκεῖναίς, notable) days (of the Baptist's preaching) that Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee, and was baptized in (into) the Jordan by John. And immediately going up out of the water HE SAW the heavens cleft asunder ;

(Both Matthew and Luke miss this point.

Matthew writes : "Behold the heavens *were opened*" ; Luke writes : "heaven *was opened.*")

and the Spirit AS a dove descending INTO Him ;

(Matthew and Luke have "descending *upon* Him" ; and Luke alters "as a dove" into "in the bodily form of a dove.")

and a voice came out of the heavens : THOU ART My Son, the Beloved ; in THEE I am well-pleased."

(Matthew has "*This is My Son, the Beloved, in whom I am well pleased.*" Luke has the same salutation as Mark save in the Western text of that Gospel, where the

salutation runs : "Thou art My Son ; to-day have I begotten Thee.")

What St. Mark meant by "as a dove" is not clear. It may mean with direct expectant flight, as in the Nazarene Gospel, where the Holy Spirit addresses Jesus thus :

"O My Son, in all the prophets I was awaiting Thee in order that Thou mightest come and I might rest in Thee, for Thou art My rest." (*"Fili mi, in omnibus prophetis expectabam te ut venires et requiescerem in te, tu es enim requies mea."*)

With this compare *The Odes* and *Psalms of Solomon* :

"The dove fluttered over the Messiah because He was her head" (24).

"As the wings of doves over their nestlings . . . so also are the wings of the Spirit over my heart" (28).

Or "as a dove" may mean (as in the words of Jesus, "harmless as doves") gentle and quiet, not violent as in the manifestations of the Spirit in the Old Testament. Or "as a dove" may mean as a spirit of Wisdom. What the owl of Minerva was for the Greeks, the dove was for the Rabbis. What, however, "as a dove" does not mean is "*in the bodily form of a dove*," as St. Luke interprets it.

Thus what is subjective in Mark we observe becoming objective in Matthew and Luke, and with the objectivity the experience becomes miraculous.*

* In using the term "subjective" I should not wish to give the impression that I regard a subjective experience as one which is less real than an objective experience. Furthermore, in using

In Luke the miraculous appears in the Spirit assuming visible form as a dove ; in Matthew the miraculous appears in the audible voice from heaven addressed not to the Son but to some third person. In the Fourth Gospel the experience is referred to as the Baptist's, not the Lord's. The vision of the descending Spirit is vouchsafed to the Baptist for the confirmation of his faith in Jesus the Incarnate Logos and Lamb of God : Jesus already knows Himself to be such.

“ And John bore witness saying : I beheld (with wonder) the Spirit descending as a dove out of heaven, and it abode on Him. And I knew Him not, but He who sent me to baptize with water He said to me : Upon whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending and abiding upon Him, this is He who baptizes with the Holy Spirit. And I have seen, and have borne witness that this is the Son of God ” (*John* i. 32-34).

Even if the historical critic did not know from other *data* that the writers of the First and Third Gospels had made large use of the Second in their compilations, and that the Fourth Gospel was written after the first three, he would be able to detect it from this comparative examination of the

the term “ miraculous ” I mean simply an occurrence which is contrary to the laws of Nature as we know them. To a certain type of mind which is disposed “ to see God through the chinks in His Universe,” rather than through and in that Universe as a whole, the extraordinary and abnormal seem to be a proof of God's presence and operation, and it is this which has led to the introduction or exaggeration of the extraordinary in religious narratives.

four accounts of the Baptism. Mark's is not only the first written, but there is strong reason to believe that it represents accurately the experience of the Messianic consciousness which came to our Lord at His Baptism, and which He revealed later to Peter, who of all His apostles had been the first to recognize His Messiahship. The historicity of Mark's account is supported by an incident related in Q* (*Mt.* xi. 2-11; *Lk.* vii. 18-28). There it is related that John heard in the prison the works of Jesus, and he sent his disciples to Jesus with this message: "Art Thou the Coming One (ὁ ἐρχόμενος), or do we look for another (ἕτερον, i.e. of quite a different kind)?" It seems difficult to believe that John could have asked such a question of Jesus if he (John) had actually received the testimony recorded in the Fourth Gospel to have been given him, or had seen the miraculous vision of the Third Gospel, or had heard the miraculous voice (*Bath-Qōl*) of the First Gospel. If, however, he had experienced nothing of the kind, as the account in the Second Gospel indicates, his sending messengers to Jesus to ask whether He is the Messiah becomes immediately explicable.

This double testimony of Mark and Q will compel the acceptance of the Marcan account in preference to the others, that the Baptism was the

* Q is a collection of the Sayings of Jesus made use of as one of their sources by the writers of the First and Third Gospels. Although there are some sixteen theories dealing with the precise contents of Q, yet this does not affect the evidence for the existence and use of this document by the writers of the First and Third Gospels.

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occasion of the unveiling to Jesus alone of His Messiahship.

The next stage, according to Mark, in the unveiling of that Messiahship is even more unexpected and unimaginable. His Messiahship is detected by the insane, the demonized. The first instance recorded of this takes place in the Synagogue at Capernaum :

“ And immediately there was in their synagogue a man in an unclean spirit, and he cried out, saying, What is it to us and to Thee, O Jesus, the Nazarene? Art Thou come to destroy us? I know Thee who Thou art, The Holy One of God ” (cf. *John* vi. 69—a Messianic title which is also used by St. Peter in *Acts* iii. 14). “ And Jesus rebuked him, saying, Be muzzled and come out of him,” etc. (*Mk.* i. 23–28).

The First Gospel omits this incident as possibly unedifying: Luke gives it. The recognition of His Messiahship by the insane and demonised would seem to have been of frequent occurrence in our Lord's Ministry. A little later on Mark relates that

“ He cast out many demons, and He suffered not the demons to speak because they knew Him to be Christ ” (*Mk.* i. 34).

Matthew, no doubt because of the undesirable character of this demonic testimony, omits the statement, but Luke relates that the demons crying out, said, “ Thou art the Son of God,” and He rebuked them and permitted them not to speak because they knew Him to be the Christ (*Lk.* iv. 41).

We observe, too, that the Gadarene demoniac addresses Him : " O Jesus, Son of God, Most High " (v. 7). This is omitted by Luke, but retained by Matthew in a slightly altered form. It is possible, in view of the common belief which exists in the East even to-day that the insane are inspired, that this testimony of demons to the Messiahship of Jesus, although He forbade it and Christians shrank from it, yet created a profound impression among the lower classes in Galilee.

Was James, the Lord's brother, recalling such scenes as these when he wrote in his Epistle : " The demons * (*τὰ δαιμόνια*) also believe and they are terrified (*φρίσσουν*, their hair stands on end) " (ii. 19) ?

The student of psychology will recognise no unfamiliar phenomenon in the insane being more powerfully affected than the sane by the commanding personality of Jesus.† The demonic phenomena described in *Mk.* are common enough to-day where religion is animistic.‡

The third stage in the unveiling of the Messiah-

* The plural in this connection should be noted in the Gospel narratives.

† See Excursus on the demons of the Synoptic Gospels in Allan Menzies, *The Earliest Gospel*, p. 68 f.

‡ Prof. Goudge comments on this passage : " May I suggest a solution of the demonic testimonies to the Lord's position ? They are analogous to Mrs. Piper's and other mediums' unconscious tapping of the knowledge of those present at their *séances*. They are telepathic. The demoniac is in the position (whatever it is) of a medium under a ' control.' There is no example of a demoniac bearing witness to the Lord except when He was near, just as Mrs. Piper was not much good when Mr. Verrall was absent." (*In a letter to the author.*)

ship is reached in Mark's Gospel when Peter, in answer to the question asked by Jesus at Cæsarea Philippi, Whom do ye say that I am? " answers : " Thou art the Christ " (*Mk.* viii. 29). But how amazing is the result of Peter's answer : " He charged (*ἐπιτίμησεν*) them that they should tell no one concerning Him." Luke and Matthew have the same statement, but Matthew relates that Jesus blessed Peter. The Fourth Gospel (vi. 67-68) gives the incident in quite a different form, and one with a less degree of credibility attaching to it. But Matthew greatly and, as we cannot but feel, unhistorically reduces the dramatic effect of Peter's confession at Cæsarea Philippi by relating earlier (xiv. 33) that the apostles had already worshipped Him (*προσεκύνησαν*), saying, " Truly Thou art (the) Son of God." The Fourth Gospel, in entire reversal of the order of Mark, relates the recognition of the Messiahship of Jesus by His disciples at the very outset of His Ministry.

We observe that the next or fourth stage consists in our Lord's endeavour to teach the disciples the significance of His Messiahship—a significance which was clean contrary to all their prepossessions and expectations. His Messiahship involves, so Jesus teaches, the suffering, rejection, and death of the Messiah. When Jesus said this with emphasis (*παρρησία*) Peter rebuked Him, and He said to Peter : " Get thee behind Me, Satan, for thou savourest (thinkest) not the things that be of God, but those that be of men " (viii. 33).

This revelation of a suffering Messiah is repeated

by Jesus again and again henceforth, but the prediction of suffering, rejection, and death is combined by Him with the prediction of the Resurrection.

It is in this connection that we have the vision of the Transfiguration, when Moses and Elijah appear with Jesus in glory, and the disciples are bidden to hear Him Who is the Messiah. Latham (in *The Risen Master*) holds that the special purpose of the Transfiguration was to enable the disciples to recognize Jesus in a spiritual body after His crucifixion, and points out that Mark relates that as they were leaving the locality (of the Transfiguration) Jesus charged them that they should tell no man what they had seen until the Son of Man was risen from the dead (ix. 9).

It is also in this connection that we note the very striking Marcan use of the mysterious title "Son of Man" which the Lord evidently applies to Himself. This title,* which is generally regarded to-day as being derived from Jewish Apocalyptic literature, particularly from the *Similitudes of Enoch* (xxxvii.-lxi., c. 70 B.C.), where it means the pre-existent heavenly Messiah, whereas in *Daniel* vii. 13 it symbolises the Kingdom of the Saints of the Most High. Our Lord in the Second Gospel appears to apply it definitely to Himself as rejected, slain, and risen. It is used in this Gospel ten times in this

* The late C. W. Emmet was inclined to think its use in *Psalms* viii. 4 was the sense which determined its significance in our Lord's teaching. Certainly our Lord in *Mt.* xxi. 16 refers to this Psalm, and *Heb.* ii. 6 f. interprets it Messianically of Jesus.

sense, and twice of Him as coming as Judge (xiii. 26, xiv. 62). It is used only twice before the declaration at Cæsarea Philippi. Once when declaring the Son of Man's authority to forgive sins (ii. 10), and on the other occasion the Son of Man's lordship over the Sabbath (ii. 28). But it is possible in both these last cases that it refers to Mankind and not specially to the Messiah.

What the title meant precisely on the lips of Jesus we cannot say. Does it declare His pre-existence? It is not clear. What is clear is that it is used in *Mk.* of the Messiah suffering, rejected, triumphant, in a way that reminds us most of the Suffering Servant of *Isaiah* liii. Professor Lake notes that—

“ There is a series of passages peculiar to Mark (that is to say, none of them is found in Q) in which ‘ Son of Man ’ does not refer to any coming in judgment, but to the approaching passion, death, and resurrection of Jesus ” (*Landmarks of Early Christianity*, p. 51).

What, however, should be especially noted here is the consistency in the Marcan use of this title compared with its use in the other Gospels.

This we regard as another indication both of the primitive and reliable character of its Christology. Very soon the title “ Son of Man ” ceased to be used of Jesus. For Gentile ears it had no Messianic significance, but was open to serious misconstruction, hence it was rapidly replaced by the other Messianic title “ Son of God.” But except in the *Bath-Qōl*

at the Baptism and Transfiguration, and on the lips of demons, and in the exclamation of the centurion in charge of the crucifixion * (where it is not Messianic), "Son of God" does not occur in *Mk.*

Mark, it should be noted, is extraordinarily dramatic in His description of the last journey to Jerusalem. Jesus knew He was going to His death, and that Jerusalem is the place where He must die. He sets out from the Mount of Transfiguration.

"Going out thence they passed through Galilee, and He wished not that anyone should know this (He desired privacy with His disciples), for He was teaching (frequentative imperfect) the disciples (all the time) and was saying to them (repeatedly) (another frequentative imperfect), The Son of Man is delivered up into the hands of men, and they shall kill Him, and when He is killed, after three days He shall rise again. But they understood not the saying, and were afraid to ask Him" (*Mk.* ix. 30, 31, 32).

At a later stage of the journey Mark tells us :

"They were on the road going up (probably from Jericho in the Jordan valley) to Jerusalem, and Jesus was walking on ahead of them, and they were amazed (*i.e.* at His fanatical courage). And as they are following Him they grow frightened" (inceptive imperfect) (x. 32).

Then Jesus turns back to the frightened little band of disciples lagging behind and begins to walk with them again, but only once more to resume the

* It is there "a son," not "the Son," of God.

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distasteful and dreadful theme of His former conversation.

“ And He taking the twelve again to Him began to speak to them of the things that should befall Him, saying, Behold, we are going up to Jerusalem, and the Son of Man shall be delivered up,” etc. (x. 33-34).

A comparison of these passages in *Mk.* with the parallels in *Mt.* and *Lk.* will show that the latter miss the more striking points in the description. They omit “ And He wished not that anyone should know it,” and “ Jesus was walking on ahead, and they were amazed, and as they are following Him they grow frightened.”

They also substitute aorists for the expressive imperfects in the other parallel passages.

The fifth stage in the unveiling of the Messiahship is when Jesus leads the disciples into Jerusalem. He now changes His former policy of concealment and reticence and publicly proclaims His Messiahship by symbolical acts and utterances. He deliberately fulfils certain striking Old Testament Messianic prophecies. The triumphal entry into Jerusalem upon an ass on Palm Sunday was such an act (cf. *Zech.* ix. 9) and also the cleansing of the Temple (cf. *Mal.* iii. 1-3).

The question put by Him in the Temple courts : “ If David calleth Him Lord, whence is He his son ? ” whatever its precise answer, was evidently meant to suggest to the hearers that Jesus claimed the Messiahship—either on the grounds of His Davidic descent or of His spiritual Sonship to God (xii. 35 f.).

The Parable of the Vine-dressers slaying the Heir which occurs in the same connection in all three synoptists is plainly meant to predict the Passion of the Messiah.* Our Lord's reference to the Rejected Stone of *Ps. cxviii. 22* portends His future triumph.

The Institution of the Eucharist presents to the disciples the vicarious character of that Passion. It constitutes the inauguration of a Covenant such as Jeremiah, the most spiritual of the prophets, predicted, the conditions of which are engraved not on stone tablets but in the human heart (*Jer. xxxi. 31*).

The sixth stage in the unveiling of the Messiahship is in our Lord's explicit declaration of His Messiahship when adjured by the High Priest :

" Art Thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed One? Jesus said, I am, and ye shall see the Son of Man seated on the right hand of the Power and coming with the clouds of heaven " (*xiv. 61, 62*).

This is followed by His reply to Pilate's question :

" Art Thou the King of the Jews? "

to which Jesus answered :

" Thou sayest it " (*xv. 2*).

These affirmations procured His death. The crime for which he suffers is published on the superscription (*τίτλος*) on the Cross, " The King of the Jews " (*Ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων*). He dies as Messiah. The Roman governor proclaims this to

* The ingenious suggestion that the Son in the Parable is John the Baptist seems quite impossible.

all ; even the high priests and scribes dare Him as the Christ, the King of Israel, to descend from the Cross (xv. 32).

The stages by which in the Second Gospel the Messiahship of Jesus is unveiled are a testimony to the historical character of that Gospel. To have invented such stages seems plainly impossible : they are in some of their aspects quite uncongenial to the primitive Christian mind. No one could have grasped them except an intimate of the Saviour ; and had they not been written down early they must have been confused or forgotten. We see that demonstrated in the Fourth Gospel, where the primitive order has been lost.

CHAPTER IV

THE ORDER OF THE TEACHING OF JESUS IN THE SECOND GOSPEL

THE order which has been found to exist in the unveiling of the Messiahship of Jesus in the Second Gospel also characterises His teaching. The teaching passes through four well-defined stages.

In the first stage it is *popular*—amazingly so. It is marked by an extraordinary directness and authority. The people flock in great crowds to hear Him, and they are astonished by His force and originality. Mark relates that having taken up His abode with His disciples in Capernaum :

“Immediately He entered into the synagogue and began to teach (ἐδίδασκεν—Inceptive Imperfect), and they were exceedingly astonished (ἐξεπλήσσοντο) at His teaching, for He was teaching them as having authority (ἐξουσίαν) and not as the Scribes ” (*Mk.* i. 21, 22).

The scribal method of teaching was essentially legalistic: it relied on the authority of others. The ordinary scribe was happiest not in expressing his own convictions but in citing the decisions of the great Rabbis. Our Lord's teaching was essen-

tially prophetic. He spoke with the conviction of an inspired personality. This prophetic utterance combined with His power over demoniacs made an immense impression. The multitudes exclaimed, and Mark alone records their ejaculations :

“ What is this ? A new teaching. With authority He commands even the unclean spirits, and they obey Him ” (*Mk.* i. 27).

Archbishop Benson once remarked that it was the misfortune of the Church of England that in so many cases the men who possessed the authority (ἐξουσία) had not the personal force (δύναμις), and that the men who had the personal force did not possess the authority.

In our Lord's early ministry it is the combination of δύναμις and of ἐξουσία manifest in Him which impresses the multitudes. The substance of His teaching in this early stage is thus given by Mark :

“ He heralds (κηρύσσω) the glad tidings (τὸ εὐαγγέλιον) saying : The season has been fulfilled and the Kingdom of God is at hand ; repent, and believe in the glad tidings ” (i. 15).

Dr. Stanton * notes that here (i. 14, 15), and in viii. 35 and x. 29, the word εὐαγγέλιον is used “ absolutely,” and that Matthew and Luke have nothing corresponding to it in their parallel sections. The Marcan use of εὐαγγέλιον is pre-Pauline, and, as Harnack points out, it is here the “ glad tidings ” proclaimed by Christ, and not the “ glad tidings ” about Christ of the Pauline Epistles. It ought to be noted

* *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, Part ii. p. 142.

that there is one place in *Mk.*, viz. xiv. 9, where the use of *εὐαγγέλιον* is the same as in *Mt.* and *Lk.*, and approaches the Pauline use as it also seems to in xiii. 10 (*Mt.* xxiv. 14). In *Mk.* i. 1, W. C. Allen interprets it in the pre-Pauline sense: "The beginning of the good news which was proclaimed by Jesus Christ." At any rate, the use of *εὐαγγέλιον* in the Second Gospel is an indication of its archaic character.

The second stage of our Lord's teaching is *parabolic*. It begins with iv. 1 (*ἤρξατο διδάσκειν*). The reason given for this change in style is explained by a quotation from *Isaiah* (vi. 9) which is deeply significant (iv. 12). *Isaiah* proclaims the doctrine of "the Remnant." It is not the nation as a whole which can be saved, but only what St. Paul describes as "a remnant according to election." The adoption of parabolic teaching by Jesus indicates His recognition of the fact that the nation as a whole is not going to accept His Gospel. His growing unpopularity with its religious leaders and the influential Pharisaic party made this apparent. The parables contained the secret (*μυστήριον*) (iv. 11) of the Kingdom, and their teaching is intended (*ἵνα*) to separate the children of the Kingdom from those who are not. Moreover, the parables themselves will preserve teaching, which, although not perfectly clear now, will be perfectly clear in the future (iv. 22).

The third stage of our Lord's teaching is the *pastoral* stage, when as the result of the growing hostility of the authorities, apparently political as

well as ecclesiastical, He takes His disciples and withdraws into the territories of Tyre and Sidon (vii. 24). During this extra-Galilæan ministry His object is not public evangelization. Mark relates that

“ He entered into a house and wished no one to know it, and He was not able to be hid ” (vii. 24).

A fact not related in any other Gospel.

W. C. Allen says of this period :

“ Hitherto (i. 14-vii. 23) Christ’s work had been confined to Galilee and its lake. Now (vii. 24-ix. 50) He begins a series of rapid journeyings north and west of Galilee. Hitherto He had taught the common people. Now He avoids them. Hitherto He has forbidden proclamation of His Messiahship. Now He gives Himself to the work of instructing His disciples ” (*op. cit.*, p. 108).

The theme of His instruction concerns His Messiahship, and the first stage of His task as *Pastor pastorum* concludes with a *viva voce* examination in which He puts the questions : Whom do men say that I am ? Whom do ye say that I am ? With Peter’s confession : “ Thou art the Christ ” His teaching enters on its fourth stage (viii. 31) : καὶ ἤρξατο διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς . . . And He began to teach them. . . .

This fourth stage is the *passion* stage.

It is essential not only that they should believe Him to be the Messiah, but that they should understand what is the nature of that Messiahship, namely. that it involved suffering, rejection, death. They found it easier to believe in His Messiahship

than to believe that He must be a suffering Messiah. The lesson is repeated again and again. Mark gives three direct predictions of the Passion (viii. 31 f., ix. 30 f., x. 32 f.). But there are numerous less direct references to it, *e.g.* His answer to the question about Elijah; the assertion when He is anointed with ointment at Bethany that it is a preparation of His body for burial; the Parable of the slaying of the Heir by the Vine-dressers; the prediction of the betrayal; the prediction that Peter will deny Him; and the institution of the Eucharist.

These four stages (the popular, parabolic, pastoral, and passion) in our Lord's teaching are not obvious in Mark, neither are the stages in the unveiling of the Messiahship as recorded in the same Gospel, and that accounts, no doubt, for Papias, whom Eusebius describes as σφόδρα γάρ τοι σμικρὸς ὢν τὸν νοῦν—exceedingly limited intellectually, writing that although Mark was accurate *he did not write in order*—οὐ μέντοι τάξει (Eus. *H. E.* iii. 39).*

It is, however, this non-obvious order, which only appears as the result of research, that impresses us with the high historical value of the Second Gospel.

* Prof. Goudge comments on this: "What you and I call 'order' is *historical* order, because we are interested in development. But what Papias, who had no such interest in development, called 'order' was having things all nicely made to 'form fours,' or threes, or sevens, or fourteens in St. Matthew's way, so that one could remember them." It seems highly probable that "number" and "order" were closely connected in the mind of Papias, and especially numbers that were mystical (see Prof. B. W. Bacon's article on "The Nature and Design of Q," *Hibbert Journal*, July, 1924, p. 675, where Bacon holds that "the order applies to the Lord's precepts."

CHAPTER V

THE LITERARY STYLE OF THE SECOND GOSPEL

THE literary style of Mark has a bearing upon the historicity of the Gospel. The use of the "historic present" is the most characteristic feature of Marcan literary style.

"It is very frequent in Mark's narrative, rare in Matthew's, and extremely rare in Luke's." *

In *Jn.* it is more frequent, but not so frequent as in *Mk.* This use of the historic present gives vividness to the narrative: a vividness which Matthew and Luke seek to secure in some cases by inserting "Behold" (*ἰδοὺ*), and it suits the supposition that *Mk.* contains the narrative of an eye-witness.

The use of the imperfect tense, which is much more characteristic of Mark than of Matthew, though it is pretty frequent in *Lk.*, also adds vividness to the narrative, e.g. *καὶ ἔλεγεν* (*Mk.* iv. 9).

"And He *was* saying, saying repeatedly (as He taught in parables): He that hath ears to hear, let him hear."

* Hawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

There are three well-known uses of the Greek imperfect. (1) *Frequentative* : he did it *repeatedly*. (2) *Inceptive* : he *began* to do it. (3) *Conative* : he *strove* to do it. It is difficult to decide on occasions whether the imperfect should be rendered as frequentative, inceptive, or conative. In the majority of cases in *Mk.*, the imperfect is frequentative.

Another stylistic peculiarity of Mark is his use of "and straightway" (καὶ εὐθύς). It occurs about forty-one times. Its use imparts movement and so vividness to the narrative, though not charm to the style.

Another characteristic of Mark's style is his frequent use of the word "again" (πάλιν). This occurs about twenty-six times. In connection with this may be noted Mark's redundancy and iteration and his love of *oratio recta*. All these are characteristic of the plain man relating an experience. Moreover, they all produce vividness, including redundancy which might be supposed to detract from it. We take the following examples from the first chapter :—

"Everywhere into all the district" (i. 28).

"The leprosy departed from him, and he was cleansed" (i. 42).

"At even, when the sun set" (i. 32).

The last is a particularly interesting example, because Matthew writes in the parallel account "at even," and Luke "when the sun set." Yet Mark's double phrase brings out what only one who was present would remember. The evening was the

evening of the Sabbath. The Jewish day was calculated from evening to evening. Galilæan peasants had no clocks or watches: the sun was their time-piece. Like fasting Mussulmans in the month of Ramadan eagerly watching the sinking sun, whose disappearance will end their fast, these Galilæan peasants watched till the sinking sun should terminate the Sabbath and set them free to carry their sick folk to Jesus. But it is the Marcan redundancy which emphasizes this. So also Mark's ἐφερον which follows is a good example of his effective use of the imperfect, which I should regard as inceptive,

“ they began to carry,”

though Swete takes it as frequentative,

“ case after case arrived.”

Another form of the Marcan redundancy is the accumulation of negatives, *e.g.* i. 44:

“ Take heed, that thou say nothing to no one.”

Another form of it is the accumulation of adverbs, *e.g.* πρὸς ἔννυχα λίαν, “ In the early morning, a great while before day ” (i. 35). Peter remembered it; he helped to track Him down (κατεδίωξεν). Asyndeton and harshly constructed sentences are another characteristic of Mark's style.

All the characteristics named suggest, not the literary person composing a narrative, so much as the plain man relating experiences.

But there is yet another large class of stylistic peculiarities in *Mk.*, which is the result of another cause. These are due to putting Aramaic narratives into a Greek dress. W. C. Allen even believes

that our *Mk.* is a Greek translation of the book which Mark had originally *written* in Aramaic.*

These stylistic characteristics are immediately recognizable by the reader who knows something of Semitic languages, but they cannot be briefly and simply treated in a popular account like this.

It is clear, however, quite apart from the question of an original Aramaic Mark, and the Aramaic quality of much of Mark's Greek, that our present *Mk.* contains more transliterations from the Aramaic than do the other Gospels, *e.g.*, Corban, Taleitha Kumi, Ephphatha, Rabboni, Abba, Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani (κορβάν, ταλειθὰ κούμι, ἐφφαθά, ραββουνεί, ἂββᾶ, ἐλωὶ ἐλωὶ λαμὰ σαβαχθανεί), and this at least suggests, as the speech of Jesus was undoubtedly Aramaic, † that *Mk.* is more archaic than the other Gospels.

* *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, ed. by W. Sanday, pp. 295-306.

† Dalman's *The Words of Jesus*, pp. 1-88.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHARACTER OF THE ORAL TEACHING OF THE SECOND GOSPEL

THE oral teachings of Jesus recorded in Mark are of just such a kind as the untrained memory would recall with little effort. They are vivid and emphatic ; they almost always occur in dialogue : *ils éclatent* is the French phrase we should use to describe their *provenance*. They are called forth by the situation, or they create the situation ; they are vitally connected with it, and they dominate it. " They have," to use Luther's phrase, " hands and feet." They differ not in their essence, but in their mode of occurrence and context, from the sayings of Jesus which are the peculiar treasure of the Gospel of Matthew. In that Gospel the sayings of Jesus are collected into great groups ; they are arranged under headings : symmetry marks this arrangement, even formal groups of threes or sevens may be detected. These sayings of Jesus in Matthew are hardly likely to have been uttered in this formal fashion. The collection and grouping of these sayings of Jesus is the work of a Jewish-Christian scribe. They remind us of what we find

in the *Pirge Aboth*, or collected sayings of the Jewish Fathers. In Matthew we have left the first stage behind and have reached the second—the stage of the codification of the teaching of Jesus.

In Luke's record of the sayings of Jesus we seem to detect a third stage. Luke attempts to reverse the Matthæan process. He seems to have deliberately tried as far as possible to break up these Matthæan collections of sayings (usually spoken of as Q) and to have distributed them with consummate literary skill among a number of incidents and actions which they serve to illuminate and adorn. No doubt in this he was guided in some cases by his researches into primitive tradition, but in other cases by his sense of the fitness of things.

In John we detect a fourth stage in the treatment of the oral teaching of Jesus. His sayings there, as the result of meditation and deep Christian experience by a teacher possessed of no ordinary powers of mystical insight and spiritual emotion, have become the texts of sermons or the crucial aphorisms in apologetic dialogues which have as their object the unveiling of the eternal significance and relations of the personality of Jesus. These discourses Jesus Himself is represented as delivering to convince, or comfort, or confound, His hearers.

In *Mt.* we see the Christian scribe at work ; in *Lk.* we see the Christian man of letters, the literary artist, at work ; in *Jn.* we have the creations of the Christian mystic, and, one must add also, the Christian dramatist and controversialist ; but in *Mk.* we have the reminiscences of the plain man who

heard the winged words uttered by Jesus Himself and saw them transfix the hearts of men.

It is that distinction, so often cited, between the teaching of Socrates as it is recorded in the *Memorabilia* (Ἀπομνημονεύματα Σωκράτους) of Xenophon and as it appears in the *Dialogues* of Plato, which separates the Synoptic Logia from the Johannine disputations and monologues; but of the Synoptic Logia it is Mark who gives them to us in their real and original connection.* If we may use a metaphor drawn from palæontology we would say: In Mark our fossils are preserved *in situ*; in *Mt.* they are preserved systematically arranged in museum cases; in *Lk.* they have been fitted into an artificial geological reconstruction of strata; in *Jn.* some of them are beautifully fashioned plastercasts and others are concretions with a genuine fossil for their core. A critical study of the teaching of Jesus preserved in our Canonical Gospels, will, we believe, produce a growing conviction that in *Mk.* we have that teaching in its most primitive form, although exceedingly limited in extent.

There is only one body of oral teaching in *Mk.* which does not seem characteristic of the Second Gospel. The long eschatological discourse of *Mk.* xiii. 3-37 is in form as a whole unlike the other

* Prof. Goudge makes an interesting comment here: "There are indications that arrangement and classification have already begun in Mark. Prof. Kennett once pointed out to me that in *Mk.* ix. 48-50 the arrangement of the Logia is mnemonic. The word *πῦρ* links verse 48 to 49, and the word *ἄλας* all the sayings that follow—a *τάξις* that ought to have pleased Papias. Prof. Kennett compared *Isaiah* i. 9, 10, where prophecies of two different periods are similarly linked."

teaching of Jesus in this Gospel. Curiously enough, the sentence in it, "Let him that *readeth* understand" (not "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear"), betrays its *literary* origin. It is not the unstudied recollection of the hearer, but a primitive Jewish-Christian Apocalypse, containing various genuine sayings of Jesus embedded in it.*

Mark, or some very early emendator, incorporated this Apocalypse into the collection of Petrine reminiscences. The fact that the eschatological discourse is said to have been delivered by Jesus "in private" (*κατ' ἰδίαν*) to Peter and his three fellow-apostles is suspicious. This discourse, like the interpretation of some of the parables in *Mt.*, introduced by the same phrase, appears very much, in some of its contents, to belong to a later stratum than the most primitive tradition of the teaching of Jesus. It is of interest to notice how the eschatological teaching is still further expanded in *Mt.* and *Lk.*, and in the latter especially in the light of subsequent events.

Mk. xiii. 1-4 relates that after Jesus had heard the loudly expressed admiration of His disciples at the splendour of Herod's temple, He said :

" 'Dost thou see these great buildings? There shall not be left one stone upon another which shall not be destroyed.' He then went over and sat on the Mount of Olives facing the Temple, and His disciples asked Him, 'When shall these things be? and what shall be the sign when all these things shall come to pass?'"

* See R. H. Charles' *Eschatology, Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian*, pp. 384 ff., and the various authorities cited there.

Mt. (xxiv. 3) makes the disciples ask not only about the destruction of the Temple, but also about the sign of the *Parousia* and the end of the age.

Lk. however supports *Mk.*, who here also must be regarded as more reliable than *Mt.*

It is very gravely open to question whether our Lord ever taught anything about the time of the *Parousia* save that neither He nor the angels knew when it would be, and that it was not the privilege of men to know the times and the seasons which were in the Father's authority. "The Signs of the Times" in the Gospels are, there is very little doubt, all derived from current Jewish and primitive Christian apocalyptic speculation, and the actual experiences of the primitive Christian Church (*e.g.* scourging of Christians in Jewish synagogues, earthquakes, famines, etc.), but not from the actual teaching of Jesus. Jesus, according to Mark, predicted the Destruction of the Temple: He also predicted His own triumph, and the coming triumph of the Kingdom of God, but times and seasons He did not predict.

In the rest of this chapter we propose to compare some typical examples of Christ's teaching preserved in *Mk.* with the parallels to it preserved in the other Gospels, especially in *Mt.* and *Lk.* Such a comparison leaves the impression that where the other Gospels differ from Mark's record, the intrinsic probability in most cases is in favour of Mark.

(1) In *Mk.* ii. 23-28 we have the teaching of Jesus about Sabbath observance. He points to an Old Testament example (1 *Sam.* xxi. 6) where David

acted unlawfully on the Sabbath in order to satisfy his own and his followers' physical needs, and yet was blameless.

And this is so, says our Lord, because "The Sabbath is made for man, not man for the Sabbath, so that the Son of Man is Lord even of the Sabbath." The golden saying, "The Sabbath is made for man, not man for the Sabbath," is only recorded by Mark, and this saying indicates the meaning of the sentence which immediately follows it. It is a declaration, not that the Messiah, but that man has the right to regulate Sabbath observance in his own interests, seeing that the Sabbath was primarily ordained to serve those interests. Exegetically the Rabbis would have admitted this, for in *Genesis* the Sabbath is ordained *after*, not *before*, man's creation, and *Mechilta* records the saying: "The Sabbath is given to you; it is not you who are given over to the Sabbath," yet in practice the Rabbis did not encourage this exercise of human authority and freedom in observing the Sabbath. In the parallel passages in *Mt.* xii. 8, cf. *Lk.* vi. 5, the impression is given that it is not man but the Messiah who is Lord of the Sabbath. The form in which *Mk.* has this teaching of Jesus about the Sabbath is at once more original and more primitive than the form in which it is recorded in *Mt.* and *Lk.*

(2) In *Mk.* iii. 28-30, which deals with Blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, it is clear that whilst sins against men are forgivable, sin against the Holy Spirit is not forgivable, for he who ignores moral distinctions and calls evil good and good evil is in

a hopeless moral condition. But *Mt.* xii. 32 and *Lk.* xii. 10 might be taken as teaching that while blasphemy against the Messiah (the Son of Man) is forgivable, blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is not forgivable—a doctrine for which it is impossible to find any sound reason whether speculative or experimental.

(3) *Mk.* iv. 22 records as a reason for parabolic teaching that it is an educational method of preserving truth for the future: "for there is nothing concealed except in order (ἐὰν μὴ ἴνα) that it may be manifested, neither hidden except in order that it may be made clear." In *Mt.* x. 26 and *Lk.* xii. 2, etc., Jesus is merely recorded as saying that what is now hidden shall be manifest in the future.

The Marcan thought is a deeper one, namely, that the present hiding is necessary for its future propagation.

(4) The only parable peculiar to *Mk.* (iv. 26-29) is that of the Seed Growing Secretly.

This parable forms a valuable addition to that teaching of our Lord which suggests that the Kingdom of God comes not cataclysmically, but as the consummation of a moral and spiritual progress. It may be compared with *Mt.*'s Parable of the Leaven in the Three Measures of Meal (xiii. 33), and with Luke's saying, The Kingdom of God is within you (ἐντὸς ὑμῶν) (xvii. 20, 21).

(5) In the Charge to the Twelve (vi. 8-13) Mark gives one of the precepts of Jesus thus:

"Take no bronze (χαλκόν) in your girdle (ζώνην)."

Matthew follows Mark, but Luke has "take no silver" (ἀργύριον).

Mark's form of the precept seems to be more in harmony with the other injunctions.

"Silver and gold have I none"

is St. Peter's declaration in *Acts* iii. 36. The Oriental girdle serves as a purse.

Again, Mark's directions in other matters seem more reasonable than Matthew's, which appear to be needlessly ascetic, *e.g.* :

"Do not wear sandals, or take a staff."

This tendency towards asceticism is also observable in a number of variant readings in the Gospels, *e.g.* where "fasting" is added to prayer (*Mk.* ix. 29).

(6) In our Lord's reply to His disciples' question (*Mk.* vii. 17-23) as to how it was that only that which came forth, and not that which entered into, a man was able to defile him, Mark alone has the striking comment: This He said "making all foods clean." (There is a less well supported variant here which is preserved in the A.V.) This statement is peculiarly significant in the light of Peter's vision on the housetop of Simon the Tanner at Joppa, recorded by Luke in *Acts* x. 14, 15: "That which God has cleansed (ἐκαθάρισε) call not thou common (μὴ κοινον)."

(7) In *Mk.* viii. 11-13 the attitude of Jesus towards the Pharisees who seek "a sign from heaven" is very uncompromising. Mark relates that He groaned deeply (ἀναστενάξας τῷ πνεύματι) and said:

“Why does this generation seek a sign? Verily I say, There shall no sign be given to this generation.”

(The form of the sentence is Hebraic or Aramaic, and expresses an emphatic negative.)

Both Matthew and Luke add “except the sign of Jonah,” which markedly weakens the statement. Q as given in *Lk.* xi. 29, 30, 32 supports *Mk.*, for there our Lord’s reference to Jonah emphasizes that the Ninevites repented “at the *preaching* of Jonah.” They needed no miracle to convert them. Hence it is clear that the statement that the egurgitation of Jonah is symbolical of the Resurrection is a primitive Christian addition to our Lord’s teaching.

(8) In ix. 1 Mark records that Jesus said (ἐλεγεν) repeatedly :

“Verily I say unto you, That there are certain standing here, who shall not taste of death until they see the Kingdom of God come in power.”

Mt. xvi. 28 has :

“Until they see the Son of Man coming in His Kingdom.”

This addition emphasizes the cataclysmic advent of the Kingdom of God ; moreover, it has not been fulfilled, whereas it may be claimed that the saying as recorded in *Mk.* (and here supported by *Lk.* ix. 27) has been fulfilled, and began to receive its fulfilment in the age which followed our Lord’s crucifixion.

In *Mk.* ix. 42-49, which deals with causing scandals, Mark uses ἡ ζωή, which in this New Testament Greek, in contrast to classical Greek,

means the higher life, the life of the Messiah's Kingdom, and is used as the equivalent of the Kingdom of God (cf. ix. 43 and 45 with 47). It is, of course, impossible to press with any sense of security the *ipsissima verba* here, but the identification of the Kingdom of God with life, eternal life, rather than with a political or ecclesiastical organization, inaugurated by a cataclysm in human history, is not only a more original conception of the Kingdom of God, but it would also constitute the seed of the Johannine teaching of Jesus in that Gospel, in which the Kingdom of God of the Synoptists as the *summum bonum* of humanity is represented by eternal life as the personal possession of the believer.

(9) In presenting the teaching of Jesus on Divorce, Mark (x. 1-12) is more original than Matthew (xix. 1-9, v. 31, 32).

According to Mark certain Pharisees ask Jesus :

"Is it lawful for a husband to divorce his wife? tempting Him. But He answered and said to them, What did Moses command you? They said, Moses permitted us to write a bill of divorcement and divorce her. But Jesus said to them, On account of your hardness of heart, he wrote to you this commandment; but from the beginning of creation He (God) made them male and female, therefore doth a man leave his father and mother, and the two shall be one flesh. So no longer they are two, but one flesh. Therefore what God has yoked together, let no one put asunder."

The disciples, after He had entered into the house,

began to inquire of Him concerning this, and He saith to them :

“ Whosoever divorces his wife, and marries another woman, commits adultery upon her (or against her. It is not clear whether the ‘ her ’ refers to the first wife or the second), and if she that has divorced her husband marries another man, she commits adultery.”

Mark’s record of the teaching of Jesus on the matter is very clear. Divorce is contrary to the Divine Will. According to the teaching of Jesus, the divine ideal of marriage is a monogamous life-union. Second marriage while the divorced partner is alive is adultery. Mark’s record is supported by *Lk.* xvi. 18a, and the command of the Lord (οὐκ ἐγὼ ἀλλ’ ὁ κύριος) cited by St. Paul in *1 Cor.* vii. 10, 11 :

“ Let not the wife be separated from her husband, but if she be separated, let her remain unmarried, or else let her be reconciled to her husband, and let not the husband desert his wife ” (*1 Cor.* vii. 10, 11 ; cf. *Rom.* vii. 3).

But in *Mt.* the form of the question put to Jesus is different. It is not as in *Mk.* :

“ Is it lawful for a husband to divorce his wife ? ”
but “ Is it lawful to divorce a wife *for every cause* ? ”

In contemporary Judaism two schools, those of Hillel and Shammai, while admitting the lawfulness of divorce as sanctioned by *Deut.* xxiv. 1, 2, were yet not agreed as to the legitimate reasons for divorce ; Hillel teaching that a man might divorce

his wife *for every cause*, but Shammai that it ought only to follow on unchastity (cf. *Gittin*, 90a). Matthew merely makes our Lord give his verdict for the school of Shammai as against that of Hillel.

If this be all the Pharisees desired from Jesus, it seems rather absurd to call their interrogation a tempting (πειράζοντες) of Him. If, however, as Mark's narrative suggests, they suspected Him of views with regard to divorce which were contrary to the Law of Moses, as indeed they were as His answer in *Mk.* shows, then indeed it was a tempting of Him to betray Himself.

In view of this, and also that Mark is supported by Luke and St. Paul, it seems clear that Matthew has toned down the uncompromising teaching of Jesus to make it harmonize with the practice and views of Jewish Christians. This is the cause of the insertion of *for every cause* (κατὰ πᾶσαν αἰτίαν) and *except for unchastity* (μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ) in his record (cf. also the παρεκτός λόγου πορνείας in *Mt.* v. 31, 32, no doubt inserted into Christ's teaching on the same subject, and for the same reason).

In *Mk.*, then, we have preserved a more accurate account of Christ's teaching on Divorce than Matthew transmits.

From these few selected examples it would seem that in *Mk.*'s record of the teaching of Jesus we are closer to His *ipsissima verba*, and freer from later accretions, than in the other Evangelists. Moreover, the several connections in which that teaching is given would seem to be more accurately presented in *Mk.* than in *Mt.* and *Lk.*

CHAPTER VII

THE SECOND GOSPEL AS USED BY THE COMPILERS OF THE FIRST AND THIRD

IN trying to estimate the value of the Second Gospel as a historical document we possess one criterion of great value. It is to be found in the treatment of Mark by the compilers of Matthew and Luke. In their treatment of Mark's Gospel we can see not only what were the tendencies of the primitive Christian community in recounting the life of the Saviour and the effect which those tendencies exerted on the Christian tradition, but we can also see evidence of Mark's insensitiveness to these tendencies, due no doubt to his loyalty to the Petrine Memoirs which compelled him to transmit them faithfully without regard to possible protests or misunderstandings.

The primitive character of the Second Gospel is revealed in some of the statements which it makes about our Lord and His apostles—statements, which, to those who were not eye-witnesses who held them sacred because they related matters of actual experience, seemed either to be lacking in reverence or to be liable to serious misunderstanding. No one has shown this more thoroughly than

Sir John Hawkins in his *Horæ Synopticæ*. He prefaces his section dealing with this aspect of the Second Gospel with the following quotation from Dr. A. B. Bruce's *With Open Face* :

" St. Mark's Gospel contains unmistakable internal marks of a relatively early date. These marks are such as to suggest an eye and ear witness as the source of many narratives, and a narrator unembarrassed with reverence. This feeling we know does not come into play in biographical delineations of men whose characters have become invested with sacredness, and its influence grows with time. The high esteem in which they are held more or less controls biographers, and begets a tendency to leave out humble facts and tone down traits indicative of pronounced individuality " (p. 25).

Just as we gain a heightened sense of the general reliability and remarkable restraint of the Canonical Gospels by comparing them with the Apocryphal Gospels, so we get a similar impression in Mark's case by comparing his Gospel with those of Matthew and Luke. We observe in them the tendency, not exhibited absurdly or recklessly, but by cautious omissions and additions, by judicious emendations and transpositions, to heighten the effect of the miraculous and to reduce the apologetic difficulties presented by the Marcan source which they are using. They are conscientious writers, but the intellect, as the sapient Francis Bacon observes, " is not a dry light, but suffers an infusion from the

will and affections." As historians the Evangelists are hampered by their loyalties. They desire to be loyal to the Lord, and also to His community. They have no mind to transmit what may lend itself either to misunderstanding or to misrepresentation. Mark or Peter seems to have been free from misgivings of this kind. To St. Peter nothing could be more sacred than facts: the facts of that experience of his with Jesus. For him they had but one interpretation, an interpretation which had transformed him from a fisherman on the Galilæan lake into an Apostle of Jesus Christ. But he relates that experience in Mark's Gospel not as one who had played a part in great events and was glad to tell the tale. The events truly were great, but the part which he had played in them had not always been great, and he tells it all with a certain sadness and reticence, somewhat in the spirit of a confession. Wonderful things and striking experiences which later tradition (especially as we have it in Matthew's Gospel) recorded of St. Peter, he does not record in the plain unvarnished tale which we have in the Second Gospel. As we study it minutely the impression grows upon us that the tale is true, and yet that it is not told merely for the sake of telling it. There is a deeply practical purpose running through it all. This is well expressed by Prof. V. H. Stanton. He writes :

"The critics are apt to think of Peter in his relation to Mark far too much as if he were simply some garrulous old soldier or traveller who loved to tell stories which had great personal interest for

himself and were also interesting to his hearers, but which had no immediately practical bearing upon their conduct, instead of as a teacher who gave men instruction, as Papias says, *πρὸς τὰς χρείας*, 'to meet their needs,' an earnest preacher of the Gospel that 'Jesus is the Christ,' and trainer of souls in the new Way of Life" (*The Gospels as Historical Documents*, Part ii. pp. 174-175).

As for Mark, he was the interpreter and recorder of St. Peter's experience as told by himself, the recipient and transmitter of St. Peter's deposit, and "in stewards it is required that a man be found faithful." And Mark, as the following comparative examination will indicate, was loyal to his trust.

The first set of passages we propose examining in Mark, which have either been altered or omitted by Matthew or Luke or both, are those which seem (a) to limit the power of Jesus Christ, or (b) to be otherwise derogatory to, or unworthy of, Him.*

(a) (1) *Mk.* i. 32, 34, cf. *Mt.* viii. 16, *Lk.* iv. 40.

Mark writes: "They brought unto Him *all* that were sick, . . . and He healed *many* that were sick."

Matthew has: "He . . . healed *all* that were sick."

Luke has: "He laid His hands on *every one* of *them* and healed them."

(2) Similarly in *Mk.* iii. 10, cf. *Mt.* xii. 15, *Lk.* vi. 19.

* In the following examples I have mainly selected those collected by Sir John Hawkins in *Horæ Synopticæ*, 2nd ed., pp. 117 f.

Mark writes: "He healed *many*."

Matthew has: "He healed them *all*."

Luke has: "He healed *all*."

These passages, except in *Mk.*, exhibit the tendency "to heighten the miraculous."

(3) *Mk.* vi. 5, cf. *Mt.* xiii. 58.

Mark writes: "He was *unable* there to do any mighty work (*δύναμις*), except that He laid His hands on a *few* sick folk and healed them, and He *marvelled* because of their unbelief."

Matthew writes: "He did not there *many* mighty works because of their unbelief."

Matthew omits the reference to Christ's inability and His marvelling. Mark denies by implication His omnipotence and omniscience. Matthew gives the impression that as a punishment for the unbelief of the inhabitants, Christ declined to heal many in Nazareth.

A careful examination of the Marcan miracles of healing shows that they are dependent on the faith of the person healed or the faith of those who bring the sick person to Jesus. And when the sick are healed, Jesus does not claim that He has done it.* He frequently dismisses the healed person with the words: "Thy faith hath healed thee." Without their faith He was *unable* to heal them, so

* I do not regard *Mk.* i. 40 f. as contradicting this statement. Here the leper has absolute faith, and says, "If Thou wishest Thou art able to make me clean." So Jesus answers, "I do wish it; be clean." This is not a personal claim to have healed the man, but merely an acceptance of the conditions which the leper regarded as indispensable for his healing.

Mark records ; but the fact that He might have claimed to have healed those that were healed, but did not do so, is much more impressive, for it reveals His moral majesty, than that He should have been able to heal the sick who had no faith.

(4) While Mark does not hesitate to record our Lord's inability to do certain things, Matthew and Luke avoid doing so, *e.g.* *Mk.* vii. 24 records that "He was *unable* to be hid." Matthew omits this. Luke has no parallel here.

(5) But *Mk.* i. 45 records that Jesus charged a leper who had been healed not to talk about it,

"but he going forth began to proclaim it much . . . , so that He was *no longer able* openly to enter into the city."

Matthew omits this disobedience of the leper and its effect. Luke also omits the disobedience, and says :

"He withdrew Himself into the desert and prayed."

(6) *Mk.* vii. 32-37. This healing of a deaf man with an impediment in his speech is omitted by Matthew and Luke. It is not a miracle suggestive of omnipotence. Saliva is used, and Christ groaned in working it. Moreover, His command as to silence was disobeyed.

(7) *Mk.* viii. 22-26. This miracle of the healing of the blind man of Bethsaida is omitted by Matthew and Luke. Again saliva is used, and the cure at first is partial and tentative.

“He asked him, Dost thou see anything? And he, looking up said, I see men, for I behold them as trees walking about.”

There is another point to be noted about the miracles of healing in *Mk.* which Prof. Burkitt emphasizes. He writes :

“In Mark what we sometimes call ‘the ministry of healing’ is represented as an accident and an importunity, something which takes place as the result of an interruption, something granted as a special favour, certainly as something unsought by Jesus and outside His own plans. Can we wonder that the boon is sometimes granted with a caution to say nothing about it? And why? The reason is surely plain. Not so much that the past cure shall not be talked of, but that no further encouragement may be given to future applicants, who may be, and probably will be, quite unsuitable.”

Prof. Burkitt connects these injunctions to observe silence with similar injunctions not to speak of the Messiahship and Transfiguration. He writes :

“When all these passages are considered together, it will be seen that they are consistent. They represent the Messiahship of Jesus as a secret from men, not to be published abroad by those, whether men or demons, who for any reason are aware of it. Further, they represent Jesus as one who possessed indeed wonderful and inexplicable gifts of healing and power over Nature, but at the same time was unwilling to make these powers part of His plan. He goes out of His way to escape

the crowds who flock to Him on account of His reputation as healer and exorcist. If He is persuaded to exercise His powers in circumstances where concealment is impossible, He leaves the place at once " (*op. cit.*, pp. 187-190).

This is a great contrast to what we have in the Fourth Gospel, where Jesus works miracles as signs (*σημεῖα*) of His Messiahship, but we see in Matthew's and Luke's treatment of the miraculous in *Mk.* the first steps on that road which terminates with the declaration in the Fourth Gospel:

" Though ye believe not Me, believe the works " (*ἔργα*) (*Jn.* x. 38 ; cf. x. 25, xiv. 11).

" Many other signs (*σημεῖα*) therefore did Jesus in the presence of His disciples, which are not written in this book. But these have been written in order that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and in order that believing ye may have life in His name " (xx. 30, 31).

Mark's narratives of healing are so unexpected, so contrary in some ways to contemporary feeling, that we are bound to regard him as the more trustworthy. In Mark's Gospel, as in the Q narratives of the Temptations in Mt. and Lk., Jesus shrinks from the use of miraculous power to prove His Messiahship and to win the conviction of His countrymen. It may be noted that whilst in the Fourth Gospel *σημεῖον* is always used in a good sense of Christ's miracles, it is always used in a sinister sense in *Mk.** There an evil and adulterous

* It occurs in *Mk.* in the following places: viii. 11, 12 ; xiii. 4, 22. In *Jn.* it occurs seventeen times.

generation seeks signs from Christ, but shall not obtain them; yet false prophets shall work them to deceive if possible the elect. It ought perhaps to be added that in the Pseudo-Mark *σημείον* is used in a good sense (xvi. 17, 20). This indicates the later date of the Pseudo-Mark.

(8) *Mk.* xi. 12-14, 20-25; *Mt.* xxi. 18-22; *Lk.* xiii. 6-9. Mark's account of the Barren Fig-tree and its withering is most disconcerting in some ways to those who dearly love what Prof. Percy Gardner has called "a good miracle." Jesus, a few days before His crucifixion, going from Bethany to Jerusalem, is hungry; He sees *in the distance* a fig-tree in leaf, and comes to it *if perchance He may find something* on it; but coming to it He finds nothing but leaves, for, adds Mark, "the season of figs was not yet."

Here indeed there is little evidence of Divine omniscience. Jesus not only hopes to find figs and does not find them; but He looks for them at the wrong season. How naïve Mark is! The explanation of Mark's last statement is derived from my own experience in Palestine. In Jericho and the Jordan valley with its sub-tropical climate, Jesus, who had come to Jerusalem by that route, would find ripe figs, and it was quite natural, as He was not a Jerusalemite or a Judæan, to expect to find ripe figs at Bethany, but in the much colder climate of that district (nearly 4000 feet higher than Jericho) the season is several weeks later—but this had not occurred to our Lord's mind. Yet if the fig-tree was in leaf, figs, though not ripe ones, might have

been expected.* Matthew reduces the difficulty by dropping out in his account the statements “*from afar off*,” and “*if indeed He might find anything on it*,” and “*for the season of figs was not yet*.”

Our Lord (in *Mk.*) says to the disappointing fig-tree :

“ May no one eat (φάγοι) fruit from thee henceforth for ever.”

Matthew has :

“ Let there be no fruit from thee henceforth for ever.”

In *Mk.* what is a *wish* (optative) is a *prediction* or possibly a *command* in *Mt.*

Then Matthew writes :

“ *Immediately* the fig-tree withered away.”

And seeing it the *disciples* marvelled, saying :

“ How did the fig-tree *immediately* wither away ? ”

In *Mk.*, however, the account of what happened is very different. There is no *immediate* withering of the fig-tree. Next day, however,

“ as He passed by in the morning, they saw the fig-tree withered away from the roots. And Peter calling to remembrance saith unto Him, Rabbi, behold, the fig-tree which Thou cursedst is withered away.”

Matthew obviously makes a miracle of what in *Mk.* is not necessarily a miracle at all. A sharp

* Orientals, strange as it may seem, often eat unripe figs.

frost and a hot sun such as one gets at that season in Jerusalem with a keen wind might easily have terminated in four-and-twenty hours, the life of a not very flourishing fig-tree.

Luke has no account of the withering of the fig-tree in his Gospel ; he has the parable of the barren fig-tree. Some commentators have concluded, to the great moral satisfaction of their readers, that Mark's narrative is a distorted version of Luke's parable. This is highly improbable. We may feel various moral difficulties arising out of Mark's narrative, but we can have little doubt that it is founded on facts, explain those facts how we will. It is a reminiscence of Peter's. As Prof. Burkitt remarks,

" I cannot but suppose that the story in Mark, so odd, so unmoral, so unlike conventional ideas of what Jesus ought to have done and said, does really rest upon reminiscence, however inaccurate, of an actual occurrence. . . . The real value of the tale of the Fig-Tree for us to-day is that it exhibits the Evangelist as a transmitter of reminiscence, rather than as a dogmatic historian." *

Shakespeare wrote :—

" Sweet are the uses of adversity,
Which like the toad ugly and venomous
Wears yet a precious jewel in its head."

(*As You Like It*, Act II. Sc. I.)

The most precious of all jewels for the historian is truth, and ugly facts may and do transmit it.

(b) We now pass to incidents or sayings recorded in *Mk.* which seem in some ways derogatory to our

* *American Journal of Theology*, April, 1911, p. 180.

Lord, and so have been omitted or altered by Matthew and Luke.

(1) After His Baptism *Mk.* i. 12 states that

“ The Spirit casteth Him forth ” (*ἐκβάλλει*),

which Matthew and Luke tone down by using “ was led up ” or “ led by the Spirit.”

(2) *Mk.* x. 13-16 relates that they brought young children to Jesus that He might touch them. (It is of interest to observe that it was not the mothers, but the fathers, who did this.) But the disciples rebuked them (*αὐτοῖς*). But Jesus seeing it, was *indignant* (*ἠγανάκτησεν*), and said to them :

“ Allow the little children to come to Me, and forbid them not : for of such is the Kingdom of God. Verily I say to you, Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall in no wise enter therein. And *taking them up in His arms He blesses them fervently* (*κατευλόγει*), laying His hands upon them.”

Matthew and Luke regard this scene as much too emotional and enthusiastic. Matthew omits the second half of Christ's saying about children and the Kingdom, and he omits Christ's indignation and His taking the children in His arms and His blessing them fervently. Like some dignified Rabbi, it might be, Matthew simply says of Jesus :

“ He laid His hands on them.”

(3) Similarly, when the disciples dispute about precedence, Jesus, according to *Mk.* ix. 36,

“ placed a little child in their midst, and *taking him*

in His arms, said, Whosoever shall receive one of these little children in My name, receiveth Me," etc.

But *Mt.* xviii. 1-5 omits the *taking him in His arms*.

Our Lord's love of children, like His regard for women, was somewhat alien to contemporary Jewish feeling, and Matthew, the most Jewish of our Gospels, tones Mark down. Luke also, in both cases omits *taking into His arms*, *ἐναγκαλισάμενος*, and simply says in the first case, "He called them to Him," and in the second, "set him by His side."

Both Matthew and Luke omit Mark's reference to our Lord's indignation, as though they felt that there was no need for Him to get so angry about an affront offered to little children.

These are but very slight examples of what takes place in two other cases.

(4) *Mk.* iii. 19b-21 reads :

"He came home. And again the crowd cometh together, so that they could not so much as eat bread. And when His friends (*οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ*) heard it, they went out to lay hands on Him : for they said, He is mad."

Matthew omits this altogether, as does Luke. (Codex Bezae alters it into "He is driving the people mad.")

It was an incident much too liable to misrepresentation by opponents of Christianity.

(5) *Mk.* x. 17-22 relates that one addressed Him thus :

"O good Teacher, what shall I do in order that I may inherit eternal life? And Jesus said to him,

Why callest thou Me good? There is no one good except God. Thou knowest the commandments," etc.

Luke has practically the same; but Matthew has:

"O Teacher, what good thing shall I do in order that I may have eternal life? But Jesus said to him, Why askest thou Me about the good? One there is Who is good, but if thou wouldest enter into life, keep the commandments," etc.

There are Christological difficulties involved in the Marcan narrative which the Matthæan narrative eliminates, but this is obviously a case where the harder reading is to be preferred to the easier. We can have no doubt that Mark is here more historical than Matthew. This is one of Schmiedel's "pillar passages." It is impossible to imagine not only any primitive Christian inventing such an incident, but also to imagine his changing it from the Matthæan form into that which we have in *Mk.* and *Lk.* Commentators have given many possible reasons for Christ's resentment of the term "good."

The incident seems to us to unveil for a moment the jealous loyalty of the Divine Son towards the Eternal Goodness in the presence of what at first, at any rate, seemed self-righteous complacency.*

We propose now to examine comparatively some

* Goodness in Christ Himself (cf. *Heb.* v. 7-9) is a gradual acquirement, as in all men it must be, though it may reach at each stage the highest possible at that stage, as we do believe it did in Christ. Perfection consists in being in harmony with environment, and in the case of a changing environment it is found in progressive adjustment to it.

passages in *Mk.* which seem to disparage the Apostles.

(6) *Mk.* iv. 13 :

“ Know ye not this parable ? and how shall ye know all the parables ? ”

“ This reference to dullness in the disciples themselves,” as Hawkins points out, “ is only found in *Mk.* ”

(7) *Mk.* vi. 51*b*, 52. After the feeding of the five thousand and the walking on the sea, Mark adds :

“ And they were sore amazed in themselves, for they understood not concerning the loaves, but their heart was blinded (or hardened). ”

This is omitted in the parallel account in *Mt.*

(8) So also in *Mk.* viii. 17, 18 :

“ Have ye your heart blinded ? Having eyes, see ye not ? and having ears, hear ye not ? ”

This is omitted in *Mt.* xvi. 8-11.

(9) In *Mk.* x. 35-37, the sons of Zebedee ask to be given the two highest places of honour next to the Saviour. *Mt.* xx. 20-21 records that it was *the mother* of the sons of Zebedee who made the request. What was permitted to a mother's love for her sons was not permitted to personal ambition. Luke omits the incident.

(10) In *Mk.* ii. 23, we read that the disciples on the Sabbath began to make their way (ὁδὸν ποιεῖν) through the cornfields, plucking the ears. The phrase ὁδὸν ποιεῖν, which might suggest trampling

down the corn, is omitted by Matthew and Luke. Matthew adds that

“ His disciples were an-hungered,”

so as to make quite clear the reason for the Apostles' action.

(11) So also in the Stilling of the Storm, *Mk.* iv. 38 has :

“ Carest Thou not that we perish ? ”

This is toned down to

“ Save, we perish,” in *Mt.*; and to

“ We perish,” in *Lk.*

So, too, the Marcan rebuke :

“ Why are ye cowards ? Have ye not yet faith ? ”

becomes in *Mt.* :

“ Why are ye cowards, O ye of little faith ? ”

and in *Lk.* :

“ Where is your faith ? ”

(12) In *Mk.* v. 31, the disciples' rebuke of the Lord because in a crowd He asked :

“ Who touched Me ? ”

is omitted by Matthew and Luke.

These examples will suggest, and Sir John Hawkins has collected some others, that at a very early period in the history of the Church, possibly as early as 70 A.D., there seemed to Christian readers to be an unguarded directness in Mark which was

distasteful to the sense of reverence which the Church had for its Lord and His Apostles. It is comprehensible that a contemporary of the Lord and a companion of the Apostles should in his reminiscences relate these things, but it is difficult to conceive of their being recorded otherwise than because they were reminiscences. To suppose that a Christian who had not experienced them should in the next generation relate them becomes, in view of what we know of the growing reverence of the Church, impossible to believe. As we read Mark, especially in the Greek, he impresses us as a plain man telling a plain tale. He is direct, simple, artless, almost naïve, but we get the impression that he knows his background thoroughly. Indeed, he, or he whom he translates, knows it so well that he forgets that his hearer or reader does not know it as well as he does.

We have examples of this in his using phrases which he does not explain. For instance, he tells us on a number of occasions that Jesus was "at home" (ἐν οἴκῳ); but where was this home? Is it always the same home? Was it the home of Jesus or the home of some one else?

The first time the phrase occurs it refers to a house in Capernaum (ii. 1), and an account follows of the way its roof was treated in order to let a paralytic down through it to the feet of Jesus. Matthew in the parallel account is not interested in the roof; Luke does not understand quite what happened to it, and makes a rather impossible statement about it.

Now, a little earlier (i. 29) we are told that Jesus, after teaching in the synagogue of Capernaum went into the house (εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν) of Simon and Andrew, and there healed Simon's mother-in-law of a fever. It is almost certainly in the same house in Capernaum that the paralytic was healed. That is to say, it was Simon Peter's house, and this very naturally accounts for the interest in its roof. The next reference to the house is in ii. 15, where Mark writes :

"and it came to pass that He (Jesus) sat in His house. And many customs-house officers and sinners were sitting with Jesus and His disciples. For there were many, and they were following Him."

It is evidently a large house ; we get that impression also from the story of the healing of the paralytic. *Lk.* (v. 29-32) seems to regard it as Levi's, the publican's, but according to Mark and Matthew it is not his ; it is the house in Capernaum which Jesus used as His home, and, as we have said, it seems to be Peter's. As we follow the narrative we see that Jesus invited the publicans and sinners to come to it.

"I came not," says He, "to invite (καλέσαι) righteous, but sinners" (ii. 17).

In iii. 20, Jesus after an expedition comes home (εἰς οἶκον), and the crowd gathers again, so that they (Jesus and His disciples) were not able to eat bread. And His friends heard, and went out to restrain Him, for they were saying, "He is mad."

In vii. 17, He entered again into His home, or it may be another house, but it seems to be at Capernaum, and He has His disciples with Him in it.

In ix. 28, a house is mentioned into which Jesus enters with His disciples. We have no precise indication where it is, except that it is in a place where Jesus is well known (ix. 15). It looks as though after His long extra-Galilæan ministry He had come home once more, when perhaps His neighbours never expected to see Him again. However that may be, there is no doubt that in ix. 33 He is back again in the house in Capernaum with His disciples, to whom He there gives a lesson in humility and self-discipline. This is evidently the last time He was in that house. From it He sets out deliberately on His last journey to Jerusalem (x. 1). Curiously enough, either Matthew or Luke omit nearly all these references to a house. Can it be because both Matthew and Luke cite a saying from Q?—

“The foxes have earths, and the birds of the heaven nests, but the Son of man hath not where He may lay His head” (*Mt.* viii. 20 ; *Lk.* ix. 58).

These words, to judge by the phrase “Son of man,” were probably spoken late in His ministry.* Whilst during all the earlier part of the ministry until He fled into the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, He had a home ; He practically had none after that date. When Peter on that last journey to Jerusalem said to Jesus :

* See Chapter III. pp. 25-27.

“ Lo, we have left all and have followed Thee.”

Matthew Henry comments : “ A fishing boat and a few old nets, Peter ” ; but was there not that house which Peter had given up to Jesus, and which he had now left to go up with his Master to Jerusalem ? Our Lord seems to remember it in His reply to Peter, and He puts it first :

“ Jesus said, Verily I say unto you, There is no man that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or mother, or father, or children, or lands for My sake, and for the gospel’s sake, but he shall receive a hundredfold *now in this time*, houses, and brethren, and sisters, and mothers, and children, *with persecutions* ; and in the world to come eternal life. But many that are first shall be last ; and the last first ” (x. 29-31).

A deep saying, and fulfilled in the apostolic experiences of St. Peter in the social life of the primitive Christian Church. In that new life he would be likely to recall that saying as well as the house he had left for the sake of Jesus. (Matthew omits “ now in this time,” and both Matthew and Luke omit “ with persecutions.”)

Jesus had, according to Mark, it would seem, two homes in Galilee. First there was Nazareth in South-West Galilee, where according to Mark He was born, and where He appears to have lived until His Baptism (i. 9).

After His visit to the Jordan and His Temptation in the wilderness, He came into Galilee (the Baptist having been arrested), and there began His Ministry

(i. 14), apparently by the lake-side, and shortly after made Capernaum His second home. After He had gathered a band of disciples and had become famous, He sets out to visit His old home, Nazareth, and He takes His disciples with Him, but the visit was an utter failure. *Mk.* vi. 1-5 says :

"He went forth thence and came into His native place (*πατρίς*), and His disciples follow Him, and the Sabbath being come He began to teach in the synagogue, and the populace hearing were astonished, saying, Whence are these things to this man, and what is the wisdom which is given to this man, and such miracles happening at His hands? Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary, and the brother of James and Judas and Simon? And are not His sisters here with us? And they were scandalized* at Him, and Jesus was saying to them that a prophet is not without honour save in his native place and among his own relations and in his own house, and He was unable to do any mighty work there. . . ."

Matthew omits the presence of the disciples, and has : "the son of the carpenter."

Luke does not call Nazareth His *πατρίς*, but says it was where He was brought up, yet cites Jesus as saying at Nazareth :

"Verily I say unto you that no prophet is acceptable in his native place (*πατρίς*)."

Luke has "Is not this the son of Joseph?"

* It is very hard to know how to translate *ἐσκανδαλίζοντο* 'ν αὐτῷ: "offended in Him," or "caused to stumble in Him" hardly give the exact sense. What they felt is best expressed in Bret Harte's phrase: "It is, and it hadn't ought to be."

Luke puts the visit to Nazareth almost at the beginning of His ministry (iv. 16), referring to Capernaum as visited by Him later on (iv. 31). Yet in citing the demand of the indignant Nazarenes:

“Whatsoever we have heard of your doing at Capernaum, do also here in your native place.”

Luke indicates that Jesus had already become famous at Capernaum. In this case there seems little doubt that Mark, who is self-consistent, is to be preferred to Luke, and here Mark has also the support of Matthew.

As it seems probable that Mark's constant references to “the house” mean a particular house, so his fourteen or more references to “the boat” (τὸ πλοῖον) mean a particular boat—very probably Peter's.

Another indication of the Petrine origin of Mark is to be found in the term “the sea” (ἡ θάλασσα), used consistently of the Lake of Galilee.

Sometimes it is “the Sea of Galilee,” but usually only “the sea.” Luke, who had sailed the Mediterranean, and was not a Galilæan fisherman but a citizen of the world, consistently refuses to call the Lake of Galilee the sea, but calls it “the lake” (ἡ λίμνη). Matthew follows Mark. Mark the Jerusalemite must have got this term from “the pilot of the Galilæan lake.”

Another example is the title “king” (ὁ βασιλεύς) to describe the tetrarch Herod. Luke, who so

carefully distinguishes between the titles of Roman governors, was not likely to call the Galilæan tetrarch a king, and he never does. (Matthew follows Mark.)

Perhaps in this connection it should be noted that just as Mark appears to be less condemnatory of Judas Iscariot than the other Evangelists, so his account of Herod Antipas and his execution of John the Baptist is much more sympathetic than Matthew's account (xiv. 3-12) and Luke's (iii. 19, 20). Mark (vi. 17-29) says that Herod feared John and knew him to be a righteous man and a holy, and protected him, but it was the implacable Herodias who by a *ruse* secured John's death to Herod's grief. This statement by Mark assuredly reflects the local contemporary view of "the king's" action, and the attitude of Matthew and Luke is later. We cannot imagine later Christian tradition exhibiting any tendency to whitewash Herod, the slayer of the Baptist.

From these examples it will be clear that Matthew and Luke, in their use of the Second Gospel, have both been guided by considerations which although they testify to their religious reverence, propagandist zeal, and literary taste, yet do reduce very seriously their value as historians. From these tendencies, *Mk.*, for reasons which we have already indicated, would appear to a large extent to have been free.

CHAPTER VIII

THE REMINISCENCES OF AN EYE-WITNESS

BISHOP WESTCOTT, in his *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, observes that "there is perhaps not one narrative which he (St. Mark) gives in common with St. Matthew and St. Luke to which he does not contribute some special feature" (p. 366). An examination of these "special features" leaves the impression that they are not the skilful inventions of the literary artist, but the reminiscences of an eye-witness. They have been called "Petrine touches"; they might be more accurately named "Petrine recollections."

The special features are so numerous that to deal with them fully would require a running commentary on the greater part of the text. All that is possible here is to select a few clear examples from a vast mass: these will not necessarily be the most obvious; the less obvious may in such a case be more conclusive.

The call of Peter and his fellow-fishermen by Jesus to become fishers of men is the most appropriate narrative with which to begin (i. 16-20).

The locality is "the sea of Galilee"; Jesus is

walking along the shore. He sees Simon and Andrew his brother ; they are at work. That work is described by a curious word ἀμφιβάλλοντας, literally " casting around."

It means, as Matthew's account makes clear, that they are using an *amphiblēstron* (ἀμφίβληστρον). An ἀμφίβληστρον is a circular casting-net.

The present writer watched a Palestinian fisherman using one on the coast near Carmel. The fisherman, clad in a loin-cloth, wades into the water and casts his net ahead of him into the air. It is weighted all round its edges, and as it falls it spreads out and sinks to the bottom. The fisherman then goes forward to see what he has enclosed. But the point to be specially noted is that the ἀμφίβληστρον is not used from a boat but from the beach. Mark's narrative silently observes this distinction. It tells of another pair of fishermen, John and James, who are in " the boat," not fishing, as we might suppose, but engaged in mending their nets (probably the draw-net, σαγήνη, cf. *Mt.* xiii. 47). When Jesus addresses Peter and Andrew, who are on the beach, He *speaks* (εἶπεν), but He *calls* (ἐκάλεσεν) to the brethren in the boat. Mark alone, it should be noted, records the presence of " the hired servants " with Zebedee on this occasion.

These details seem insignificant enough, but taken together they give the impression that Mark's narrative is that of an eye-witness. Matthew follows Mark's account closely. John's touches Mark's nowhere (*Jn.* i. 40-42).

Luke's account fuses the call of the fishermen

with another incident. (See at the end, "A note on Luke's Relation to the Second Gospel.")

In the same chapter (i. 40-45) the healing of a leper is recounted, and Mark states that Jesus was moved by emotion (*σπλαγχνισθείς*). We do not know for certain what the emotion was, but it is natural to suppose that it was compassion. (Matthew and Luke omit it.)

After He has healed the leper, Mark states that He charged him *sternly* (*ἐμβριμησάμενος*, omitted by Matthew and Luke), and sent him off. Only a great artist or an eye-witness would give us details of mood and manner in this fashion. It is characteristic of Mark. When Jesus healed the paralytic Mark relates (iii. 5) that *He looked round on them with wrath, being grieved at their callousness* (*περιβλεψάμενος αὐτοὺς μετ' ὀργῆς συλλυπούμενος ἐπὶ τῇ πωρώσει τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν*). Matthew omits it all, and Luke only notes that "He looked round on them."

No Gospel brings out more clearly our Lord's wonderful personal magnetism than does Mark. We see this in Mark's account of the choice of the Twelve. He writes :

"He goes up into *the* mountain [possibly a general term for the highland behind Capernaum, but more probably some particular height like *Karn Hattin*, the traditional Mount of the Beatitudes], and He calls unto Him *whom He Himself would*, and *they went unto Him*, and He appointed twelve, whom also He named Apostles, *in order that they might be with Him*, and in order that He might send them forth as heralds (*κηρύσσειν*), and to have authority to cast out demons" (*Mk.* iii. 13-15).

Matthew and Luke omit the reference to the personal magnetism which irresistibly summoned the Apostles to Him, and thereafter moulded them. What more natural than that Peter should relate this? Mark alone states that the Apostles were sent out two and two (vi. 7).

In iii. 22 Mark relates that it was

"the scribes who had come down from Jerusalem"

who were saying :

"He has Beelzebub, and casts out demons by the prince of the demons."

Matthew and Luke omit this, yet it is an important point that these persons should have come down to Capernaum presumably to report on Jesus to the Jerusalemite authorities. "The scribes of the Pharisees" in *Mk.* ii. 16 ask: "How is it that He eateth and drinketh with tax-gatherers and sinners?" Possibly these are the same inquisitorial delegates.

In iii. 31-35 Mark relates that when Jesus was engaged in teaching the multitude, His mother and brothers sent for Him, calling Him, as they could not get in to Him because of the crowd. So the crowd pass the word along,

"and say to Him, Behold, Thy mother and Thy brothers outside seek Thee. And He answers and says to them, Who is My mother and brothers? And looking round on all those seated in a circle round him, He says, Behold My mother and My brothers! Whosoever shall do the will of God, this one is My brother, and sister, and mother."

Matthew and Luke omit the words in italics, yet they are the touch of the eye-witness. The present writer well remembers seeing in the Islamic University in the Great Mosque at Cairo the teacher seated on the pavement with all his scholars seated in a circle round him, just as Mark describes in this narrative.

In *Mk.* iv. 1-2 we have another teaching scene described :

“ And again He began to teach by the seaside. And there is gathered unto Him a very great multitude, so that *He entered into a boat, and sat in the sea, and all the multitude were by the sea on the land.*”

Matthew retains it here, but Luke has it in another connection (v. 1-3).

Again, there is that other teaching scene in the house at Capernaum described in *Mk.* ii. 2-8 :

“ It was noised that He was in the house, and many were gathered together, so that there was no longer room, no, *not even about the door* : and He was speaking the word unto them.”

This is omitted by both Matthew and Luke.

In the account of the Stilling of the Storm in *Mk.* iv. 35-41, we have little descriptive points omitted by Matthew and Luke ; e.g. Mark has :

“ And *other boats* were with Him ” ;

“ He was in *the stern, sleeping on the cushion* ”
(τὸ προσκεφάλαιον is evidently a technical term).

In the healing of the Gerasene (Khersene) Demoniac Mark's account (v. 1-20) is much superior in vividness to Matthew's. Matthew not only omits various details (*e.g.* cutting himself with stones, and crying out day and night, etc.), but also the extraordinarily interesting dialogue conducted in imperfects between Jesus and the demoniac. Moreover, Matthew is undoubtedly inaccurate when he says there were *two* demoniacs healed on this occasion, as he is wrong when he doubles blind Bartimæus at Jericho. Luke for the most part follows Mark closely here.

Whether the Gerasene madman had demons in him, and whether the demons passed into the bodies of the swine, we may reasonably doubt in the light of modern science, but no serious modern student is at all likely to doubt that we have in *Mk.* a description of an actual occurrence related by an eye-witness, explain the facts how we will. The best interpretation of those facts in the light of modern knowledge would seem to be given by Allan Menzies in *The Earliest Gospel* (pp. 121-125). He shows there that the purpose of our Lord's questioning is to win the attention and confidence of the demoniac, without which it is impossible to heal him. Our Lord knows that there is one subject, and indeed only one, which the demoniac will be willing to talk about, viz. himself and his symptoms.

In *Mk.* v. 21-43 we have another vivid description, this time of a double miracle. The daughter of Jairus, a synagogue ruler, is dying, and the father

comes to Jesus and beseeches Him to restore her, saying to Him :

“ My little daughter is at the point of death.”

Jesus proceeds at once with the ruler, a great crowd following. In this crowd a woman with an incurable issue of blood determines to touch the *zizith* * of the *tallith* of Jesus (cf. *Mk.* vi. 56). She does so, and is healed. Jesus perceives that He has been touched, and turns and asks who has done it. The disciples reason with Him :

“ Thou seest the crowd thronging Thee, and Thou sayest, Who touched Me ? ” Jesus looks round on the crowd, and the woman comes forward and trembling, confesses. Jesus addresses her : “ Daughter, thy faith hath healed thee : go in peace, and be sound from thy scourge.” While He is saying this, messengers arrive from the synagogue ruler’s house, and say to Jairus, “ Thy daughter is dead : why *bother* (σκούλλεις) the Teacher further ? ” But Jesus *overhearing* (παρ-ακούσας) what was said, speaks to the synagogue ruler in order to keep up his faith : “ Do not fear, only believe.”

He then takes Peter and James and John, but will allow none others to accompany Him, and enters the house. In the house He observes tumult and weeping and wailing. “ Why make all this noise ? ” He asks :

“ The little girl is not dead, but sleeps.”

* The *zizith* was the fringe or tassel made of coloured wools which hung from the corners of the shawl or *tallith* worn by every adult male Jew. The *tallith* was regarded as sacred, and the *zizith* as especially sacred.

The mourners laugh Him to scorn. He turns them all out of the house (ἐκβαλὼν), and taking the father and mother and His three disciples (whose faith He is sure of), He enters the death-chamber, and taking the girl by the hand, says, "*Talîtha kumi*." She gets up at once and begins to walk, for she was twelve years old. They are all astonished. He charges them not to make it known, and orders that something be given her to eat. Could anything be more dramatic, lucid, and natural, than this account? In *Mt.* much is omitted. The girl is represented as dead before her father sets out for Jesus, consequently Jesus' overhearing the message and supporting the faith of the father is omitted. Matthew also omits much of the vivid description connected with the healing of the woman with an issue of blood. The Aramaic command addressed to the girl disappears in *Mt.* as in *Lk.*, but Luke preserves the age of the child, which Matthew omits. Luke omits the ejection of the mocking mourners, which Matthew retains. On the whole Luke follows Mark pretty closely, but omits small points (*e.g.* he has ἀκούσας for Mark's more realistic παρακούσας). Matthew compresses Mark's narrative so much that he greatly reduces its value.

Once more we are certain that the modern historian will feel that we have in *Mk.* an eye-witness's account of an actual occurrence.

We have another important miracle of a quite different kind related in *Mk.* vi. 30-44. The Apostles having returned from their mission, and the pressure of the crowd depriving them even of

time for meals, Jesus invites them to come away into the desert for a rest. They go off in the boat to a desert place, but they are observed departing, and the crowd run round the shore of the lake and arrive at the landing-place before the boat. Jesus has compassion (ἔσπλαγχνίσθη) upon them, because they are as sheep without a shepherd, and begins to teach them much. It grows late. The disciples say to Jesus :

“Dismiss them, that they may get food in the neighbouring villages.”

He says to them :

“You give them something to eat.”

They reply :

“Shall we go away and buy two hundred denarii's worth of bread ? ”

He asks :

“How many loaves have ye ? Go and see.”

Having learnt their reply, “Five and two fishes,” He commands the multitude to recline, in feeding parties (συνπόσια συνπόσια) upon the *green* grass, and they sit down arranged like garden plots (πρασιαὶ πρασιαὶ) by hundreds and fifties. And He taking the five loaves and two fishes looks up into heaven, and blest and brake up the loaves (κατέκλασεν) and was giving to the disciples to set before them, and He divided the two fishes to all, and all did eat and were filled, and they took up twelve baskets (κοφίνοι) full of fragments, and

also of the fishes. And those that ate were five thousand *men* (ἄνδρες).

This miracle is related by the four Evangelists, but Mark's is the most vivid. Matthew omits the causes of withdrawal ; the greenness of the grass ; the two hundred denarii proposal ; the arrangement of the crowd in regular companies. Luke also compresses Mark's account with loss, and substitutes κλισίαι for συμπόσια as perhaps too convivial. John's account (vi. 1-13) is also very vivid and has details Mark has not, but supports Mark's "green grass" by the statement that "there was much grass (χόρτος πολὺς) in the place," and also by dating the event as near the Passover. At that time of the year Galilee is carpeted with grass and wild flowers.

This Feeding of the Five Thousand presents immense difficulties of a scientific kind, but it is hard to believe, in view of the character of the historical evidence, that it is a pure figment. We have no adequate explanation of it on non-miraculous lines : there have been many attempts of this sort, but the narrative does not lend itself to rationalization at present. We seem compelled to accept the historical fact, and are equally compelled to wait for its explanation.

The still unsolved problem of whether *Mk.* vi. 45 to viii. 26 formed part of the original *Mk.* prevents undue weight being placed on any of the incidents narrated in this section. The present writer, however, regards it as Marcan both in style and content, and holds that the Lukan omission of the incidents it relates can be explained satisfactorily in every case.

Some omitted sections relate tentative or duplicated miracles ; other sections relate incidents which would be uninteresting or offensive to Gentile readers.

In the Walking on the Sea, the phrase, peculiar to *Mk.*, " and would have passed them by " (*ἤθελεν παρελθεῖν αὐτούς*) seems like the recollection of an eye-witness (vi. 48).

The Healing of the Syro-Phœnician Woman's daughter (vii. 24-30) is wonderfully life-like in its dialogue, especially our Lord's unexpected *διὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον*, " because of this remark." Her witty retort had saved her daughter's life. This is omitted by Matthew.

The Healing of the Deaf Man with an Impediment (vii. 31-37) is evidently the account of an eye-witness. The touching, the anointing with saliva, the groaning, the Aramaic *Ephphatha*, the charge to tell no one, the subsequent disobedience, are all characteristic.

The seven *large* baskets (*σφυρίδες*, *Mk.* viii. 8) of the Feeding of the Four Thousand, in contrast to the twelve *small* baskets (*κοφίνοι*) of the Feeding of the Five Thousand, are well known. The question of the disciples, " Whence is it possible to fill these men with bread here in a desert place ? " is so much of a difficulty that one feels almost compelled to regard this account as a doublet of the feeding of the five thousand, yet *Mk.* viii. 19, 20 is opposed to this.

The narrative of the Healing of the Epileptic Lad

(ix. 14-29) is, like the Raising of Jairus' Daughter, a very full and explicit one, and is contained also in *Mt.* and *Lk.*

“ And when they (Jesus, and Peter, and James, and John) came to the disciples, they saw a great crowd about them, and scribes questioning with them, and immediately the whole crowd catching sight of Him were exceedingly astonished [possibly because they knew that He had fled from Galilee, and so they never expected to see Him again, *cf. Mk. vii. 24, 31 ; viii. 22, 27*], and ran to Him and saluted Him, and He asked them, What are you disputing with them about? And one of the crowd answered, Teacher, I bought unto Thee my son, who has a dumb spirit, and wheresoever it taketh him it dasheth him down, and he foams, and grinds his teeth, and pines away; and I spoke to Thy disciples that they should cast him out, and they were not able.”

(This introduction is almost entirely omitted by Matthew and Luke.)

“ And He answered them and saith, O faithless generation, how long shall I be with you? How long shall I bear with you? Bring him unto Me. And they brought him unto Him: and when he saw Him the spirit immediately convulsed him, and he fell upon the earth and was wallowing, foaming. And Jesus inquired from his father, How long a time is it since this befell him? He said, From his boyhood. And oftentimes it has cast him into the fire and into the water (pl.) in order to *destroy* him. But if Thou canst do anything, have compassion upon us, and help us. And Jesus said unto him, ‘ If Thou canst! All things are possible for him

who believes.' Immediately the father of the boy cried out repeatedly, 'I believe; help Thou mine unbelief.' And when Jesus saw that a crowd came running together, He rebuked the unclean spirit, saying unto him, Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I command thee, come out of him, and enter no more into him. And having cried out and convulsed him much, it came out. And he became as if he were dead, so much so that many said, He is dead. But Jesus taking him by the hand raised him up, and he arose. And having entered into a house, His disciples were questioning Him privately. How is it that we could not cast it out? And He said to them, This kind can come out by nothing except prayer."

This narrative is extraordinarily vivid and varied: the behaviour of the crowd; the description of the patient's symptoms; the emotional outburst of Jesus, with its veiled prediction that His Ministry is drawing to its close; the question put by Jesus to the father as to the origin of the epilepsy; the further dialogue between Jesus and the father. This last is as spirited as that between Him and the Syro-Phoenician woman. The way in which He takes up the father's phrase, "If Thou canst," and repeats it to him when urging upon him that for faith all things are possible, is very striking.

The Coué-like repetition (ἐλέγεν) by the father: "I believe, I believe," and the dramatic utterance which reveals the consciousness that his heart and his lips are not at one—"Help Thou mine unbelief"—cannot possibly be fiction. The amazing thing is that both Matthew and Luke omit the

dialogue. They seem to be chiefly interested in the fact that Jesus could do what His disciples could not do. Luke does, however, exhibit a professional interest in the symptoms.

We notice in the case of the rich man who addressed Jesus as "O good Teacher," that after he had said that he had guarded all the commandments from his youth, Mark alone adds :

"Jesus looking upon him loved him" (x. 21).

When, however, Jesus said to him, Go off and sell whatsoever thou hast and give to the poor, and come follow Me, Mark alone notes how his expression altered: "his face fell at that word" (στυγνάσας ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ).

So also in the dialogue with the disciples which follows. When Jesus said, "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the Kingdom of heaven!" Mark alone has :

"The disciples were amazed at His words" (x. 24).

For, as Francis Bacon correctly observes, "Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament"; or, as the Psalmist sings, "The blessing of the Lord maketh rich."

The narrative of the healing of blind Bartimæus is as vivid as that of the epileptic. Jesus is accompanied by a crowd, possibly of Galilæan pilgrims. Bartimæus sits by the roadside. He cries out (x. 47) :

"O Jesus, Son of David, have mercy on me."

The crowd resent his use of this Messianic title, and tell him to be silent ; but he cries out the more.

“ Then Jesus stopped and said, Call him. *And they call him, saying to him, ‘ Cheer up, get up : He is calling thee.’ And he, throwing off his cloak and jumping up, came to Jesus.*”

These dramatic details are omitted by Matthew and Luke, as also the second title of respect he uses to Jesus—*Rabboni* (my great one) (x. 46-52).

Quite as dramatic is Mark's account of the triumphal entry into Jerusalem. Jesus sends two disciples to borrow a colt, promising to return it almost immediately (xi. 3). (Matthew and Luke omit this latter somewhat commonplace point.) The colt is brought to Jesus, the disciples put their cloaks on it and seat Him on it, and many spread their cloaks on the road, and others cut litter (*σπιβάδας*) from the fields and strew it on the road, and those that go ahead and those that follow begin to cry out :

“ Hosanna, Blessed be He that cometh in the name of the Lord ; Blessed be the coming kingdom of our father David ; Hosanna in the highest.”

Matthew is plainly inferior to Mark here. He mistakes the significance of the parallelism in Zechariah's prophecy (ix. 9), and so in order to fulfil it literally makes Jesus ride on both a colt and its mother ! He substitutes for the strewing of grass the cutting of branches from the trees. (John has the branches of *palm* trees.) Matthew omits the *two* crowds. Furthermore, he confuses the cry

of the crowd and gives it in a form quite impossible for an Aramaic-speaking population. Luke is nearer Mark, but makes the rejoicing disciples hail Jesus as King. This seems too dangerous a thing for them to have done. Once again Mark justifies our claim that in his account we have that of an eye-witness. Matthew, supported by Luke, makes the cleansing of the Temple follow immediately on the Triumphal Entry. Mark, however, relates that after entering Jerusalem Jesus went into the Temple and looked round upon all things, but it being already evening He went out with the Twelve to Bethany (xi. 11). This seems the more circumstantial statement, and makes the cleansing of the Temple a deliberate and significant Messianic action. Matthew's motive in altering Mark was no doubt caused by his desire to secure a more exact fulfilment of Malachi's prophecy: "The Lord whom ye seek shall *suddenly* come to His temple, . . . and He shall purify the sons of Levi, and purge them . . ." (*Mal.* iii. 1-3).

In the cleansing of the Temple Mark has points which are omitted by the other evangelists. He alone says that Jesus "suffered no one to carry a vessel through the precincts" (xi. 16). This practice, according to Swete (*op. cit.*, p. 256), was forbidden by the Jewish authorities, but the prohibition was probably ignored. Curiously enough, both Matthew and Luke miss the point in the quotation from *Isaiah* lvi. 7. Mark gives it:

"My house shall be called the house of prayer for all the Gentiles."

Matthew and Luke omit the words in italics, yet they are most important, for it was the Court of the Gentiles which Jesus cleansed. Mark makes a significant remark which is omitted by the others. He says the chief priests and the scribes were seeking to put Jesus to death, *because they were afraid of Him*. Fear is mentioned again by Mark as their motive, but it is fear of the populace (xi. 32).

(John's narrative is dramatic enough, but it exhibits great differences from Mark's; the most serious being his putting the cleansing of the Temple at the beginning of the Ministry, which is highly improbable.)

In the Question about the Tribute (xii. 13-17), Mark preserves two reminiscences of the eye-witness.

First, he relates that the Pharisees were accompanied by the Herodians. On a former occasion (iii. 6) he refers to this unholy alliance. (Luke omits this.)

Secondly, he relates that Jesus said :

" *Bring Me a denarius, that I may see it.*"

Matthew and Luke have, " *Show Me a denarius.*"

But, as Swete points out, only Jewish coins were current in the Temple, where this incident took place. They would have to send outside to fetch a Roman coin. Peter may well have remembered the pause and excitement produced by the request and its fulfilment.

Mark's account of the scribe who, *prompted by admiration of the answers given by Jesus to His questioners*, asked Him, "What kind (*ποία*) of

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commandment is first of all ? ” retains an interesting reminiscence which the later Gospels have lost.

The scribe commends the answer of Jesus, and says to Him :

“ Of a truth, Teacher, Thou hast well said that He is one, and there is none other but He : and to love Him with all the heart, and with all the understanding, and with all the strength, and to love his neighbour as himself, is much more than all whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices ” (xii. 32 f.).

And when Jesus saw that he answered *thoughtfully* (βουνεχῶς), He said to him : “ Thou art not far from the Kingdom of God.” Both Matthew and Luke omit this delightful dialogue. (*Lk.* x. 25-27 actually attributes the summary of the Law to the scribe.) They, perhaps in the light of later Christian experience of scribal criticism, represent the scribe not as sympathetic but as hostile. They write that the lawyer (νομικός) was tempting (πειράζων and ἐκπειράζων) Jesus.

In *Mk.* xii. 41, in the opening of the story of the Widow's Mite, there is a little touch in *Mk.* which Luke has missed. (Matthew omits the incident altogether.) Mark says that Jesus *sat down opposite the treasury and was watching attentively* (ἐθεώρει) *how the crowd cast copper (bronze) into the treasury, and they that were rich cast in much.*

In the graphic account of the Anointing of the Lord in the house of Simon at Bethany (xiv. 3-9) Mark uses an adjective *pistic* (πιστικῆς) to describe the ointment, which Matthew omits, but John has.

No one knows what it means now, and probably Matthew omitted it because he did not know what it meant then ; but it must be the reminiscence of an eye-witness. Luke's account is quite as striking, but it refers to some other occasion.*

In the Prediction of the Betrayal at the Last Supper (xiv. 17-21) Jesus gives an indication who the traitor is by saying :

" It is one of the twelve, who *dippeth* (ἐμβάπτωμενος) with Me into the bowl."

Matthew has : " who dipped with Me in the bowl."

John has : " he for whom I shall dip the sop and give it to him."

(Luke omits all reference to the sop-dipping.)

What we observe is that in *Mk.* Jesus simply says the traitor is one of the Twelve ; in *Mt.* He is more explicit. It is one of the Twelve who has already dipped (ἐμβάψας) into the bowl ; possibly some at table had not yet done so. But in *Jn.* the traitor-Apostle is clearly indicated by the action of Jesus Himself in giving to him a sop. Mark would seem here to be more likely to be historically correct. The tendency to heighten the predictive power of Jesus by making events fit in with predictions precisely, and also to make predictions more precise so as to fit in with events exactly, is like that tendency to heighten the miraculous which we have already noticed. This

* See at the end of the last chapter, " A Note on Luke's Relation to the Second Gospel."

tendency in the case of predictions is clearly seen in *Mt.* xxi. 1-10, where he makes Jesus ride on *both an ass and its colt* in order to fulfil literally *Zech.* ix. 9. It is also seen in *Mt.* xxvi. 15, where he says "they weighed him (Judas) *thirty pieces of silver*," in order to fulfil *Zech.* xi. 12, 13. We see it again in *Mt.* xxvii. 34, where, under the influence of *Psalms* lxix. 21, he changes Mark's "myrrhed wine" into "*wine mingled with gall*." It is again seen in the "field" (τὸν ἀγρὸν) in the citation of *Zech.* xi. 13 in *Mt.* xxvii. 10. The reason why *Mt.* xxvii. 57 describes Joseph of Arimathæa as *rich* is doubtless in order to fulfil *Isaiah* liii. 9, which relates that the Divine Sufferer "made His grave with . . . *the rich*." (Neither Mark, Luke, nor John mentions that Joseph was rich.) In *Lk.* this tendency is evident in the greatly increased precision in the predictions of the destruction of Jerusalem. It runs on the grand scale all through the Fourth Gospel. But it seems to be almost entirely absent from *Mk.* This is an evidence of the superior historical value of *Mk.*

It should also be noted that in *Q* the appeal to Messianic prophecy by Jesus is very small: in *Mk.* it is limited to the Mission of the Forerunner and to the Passion and Triumph of the Messiah; but in *Lk.* and *Mt.* there is a distinct increase—particularly in *Mt.*, which is intended for Jewish-Christian readers.

But whilst the later Evangelists heighten the miraculous and predictive features, they tone down the emotional element. In the account of Gethsemane, Mark is stronger in his statement of the

emotion of Jesus than the other Evangelists.* He writes :

“ He began to be amazed and distracted.”

So W. C. Allen translates ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι καὶ ἀδημονεῖν (xiv. 33, cf. *Heb.* v. 7, 8). (Matthew has λυπεῖσθαι καὶ ἀδημονεῖν=sorrowful and distracted.)

Also one cannot but notice that the form of our Lord's prayer in *Mk.* :

“ Abba, Father, *all things are possible to Thee,*”

is more in harmony with the general tenour of the teaching of Jesus than Matthew's: “ *if it be possible.*”

The Jesus of Mark knows no limitation to His Father's power. He can even save rich men (*Mk.* x. 27).

Mark's account of the Arrest preserves one peculiar item which has so little connection with what precedes and follows it, and so little apparent significance, that one seems compelled to regard it as the reminiscence of an eye-witness.

“ And a certain young man was following Him, having a linen cloth cast around his naked body, and they seize him, but he left the linen cloth and fled away naked ” (xiv. 51 f.).

Some have supposed that this was St. Mark himself. We cannot tell, but it may well be something which Mark saw that night in the street. The other Evangelists omit it.

* The Agony, and Angelic Assistance, and Bloody Sweat, are only recorded in *Lk.*, and there they are absent from some of the most important codices. Hence they are put by Westcott and Hort between double brackets.

In the trials of Jesus it is very hard to decide whether Mark is to be preferred to Luke and John. Certainly both Luke and John seem to have valuable and credible sources of information to draw upon. In *Mk.*, followed by *Mt.*, Jesus is first tried by the Sanhedrin and then by Pilate, but in *Lk.* He is also sent to Herod for trial, and in *Jn.* He undergoes a preliminary examination by Annas, the father-in-law of Caiaphas. We are inclined to think that each of these additions is based upon special sources of good quality to which the authors of the Third and Fourth Gospels had access.

In the account of Peter's threefold denial the locality of each denial is related very precisely in *Mk.*

The first takes place in the courtyard, *i.e.* in the interior of the High Priest's palace, when Peter was seated with the servants, warming himself *against the light* (πρὸς τὸ φῶς) (xiv. 54). That little phrase is peculiar to Mark, but it explains what happened: a servant-girl looking hard at Peter says to him: "Thou also wast with the Nazarene Jesus" (xiv. 67, 68).

The second denial takes place in the courtyard in front of the palace, whither Peter had fled; there the same servant-girl of the High Priest recognizes him again and says to those there:

"This fellow is one of them."

The third denial is at the same spot, when those around Peter take up the girl's charge, and say:

"Truly thou art one of them, for thou art a Galilaean."

Mt. (xxvi. 73) explains how they knew :

“ Thy speech bewrayeth thee.”

All the other accounts differ from Mark, but his seems to be the most circumstantial.

There is, however, a very interesting item contributed by John, who says the servant-girl was the portress who had admitted Peter and “ the beloved disciple.”

What Peter did exactly after the third denial besides weeping is not clear in *Mk.* There are some five different renderings of ἐπιβαλὼν (xiv. 72), which the R.V. translates *when he thought thereon.*

In xv. 8, Mark alone relates that the mob began to beg Pilate that he should act as he was *wont* to act towards them.

In the mockery by the soldiers Matthew's *χλαμύδα κοκκίνην* (a scarlet military tunic) seems more likely than the *πορφύραν* (purple robe) of *Mk.* xv. 17.

In the Crucifixion narrative Mark's statement that Simon the Cyrenian was the father of Alexander and Rufus, indicates that these men were known to those for whom the Gospel was written. If the Rufus of Mark be the Rufus of *Rom.* xvi. 13, it gives support, although perhaps very slight support, to Clement of Alexandria's statement that it was written for Peter's Roman converts.

In *Mk.* xv. 23 the *ἐδίδουν* (a conative imperfect) is very striking. They *tried* to give Him myrrhed wine, but He received it not.

Mark's *τίτλος* “ The King of the Jews ” is more

likely to be correct than the longer inscriptions in the other Evangelists.

Mark only gives one word from the Cross, the terrible cry of dereliction: *Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani* (xv. 34). Matthew supports Mark. Luke has three other words, and John yet three others; but neither Luke nor John has Mark's word, yet there can be no doubt that Mark's word is historic: no Christian would have dared to invent it.

In the account of the Burial, Mark in a singularly artless way records that Pilate was wondering if Jesus were already dead, and having summoned the centurion, asked if he were already dead. And learning from the centurion (that it was so), he granted the corpse (*τὸ πῶμα*) to Joseph.

The account of the Resurrection in Mark terminates too abruptly for comparisons to be made. It seems quite certain, in view of the context *λίαν πρωΐ* (*very early*), that an *οὐκ* (*not*) has been lost before *ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου* (*the sun having risen*), which relates the time when the women discovered the empty tomb (xvi. 2).

On the whole it must be admitted that in the record of events connected with the Passion and the Burial which Mark gives us, and in those which he omits (such as the healing of the ear of Malchus, and the eclipse of the sun in *Lk.*; Pilate's wife's dream, the sealing of the tomb and setting of the watch by Pilate, and the resurrection of the bodies of the saints in *Mt.*), Mark is to be preferred. This does not mean that we should regard as spurious

all additional incidents and details given by the other Evangelists.

The great issue between the Synoptists and John as to the date and hour of the crucifixion, we cannot treat here. We do not consider that it is finally settled that John is right, though the probabilities appear to be in his favour. Again and again we find in history that the unexpected has happened, and although the Jewish authorities would not wish to have Jesus put to death on the Day of the Passover, it may have happened that He was put to death on that day under a Sadducean high-priest, who would immediately disclaim any responsibility for what was the act of the Roman procurator. It should, however, be noted that the Jesus Ben-Pandira of the Talmud, whom competent scholars identify with Jesus of Nazareth, was executed, according to the Rabbinical account, before the eve of the Passover.

The great majority of the details referred to in this chapter, and indeed, many more which we have been unable to include, lead us to the conclusion that the Second Gospel does enshrine the reminiscences of an eye-witness of the scenes which it records. Some of these scenes, especially those in Jerusalem, may well have been witnessed by Mark, the reputed author of the Gospel, but on the whole there seems no good ground for doubting the uncontradicted primitive tradition that the eye-witness whose record we have in the Second Gospel is St. Peter himself.

CHAPTER IX

TERMINATION AND CONCLUSION

THE Second Gospel stops abruptly at the words "for they were afraid" (xvi. 8), which describe the flight of the women from the tomb after learning of the Resurrection of Jesus. It is impossible that the Gospel could originally have concluded at this point. So unnatural has this termination seemed that various efforts have been made to remedy the mutilation, although the two most trustworthy New Testament codices (the fourth-century *Vaticanus* and *Sinaiticus*) have both refrained from countenancing such efforts, and stop at the words "for they were afraid."

There are, however, two other endings in existence, known as the "longer ending" and the "shorter ending." The "longer ending," which is familiar to English readers, a translation of it being appended to the Gospel in both our Authorized and Revised Versions (*Mk.* xvi. 9-20), relates the appearance to Mary Magdalene, to the two disciples walking into the country, and to the eleven at meat. It then gives the command of Jesus to preach the Gospel to all creation and promises miraculous powers to the disciples. It concludes with a notice

of the Ascension and Session of Jesus, and the missionary zeal of the Apostles confirmed by signs following. This ending, though it occurs in a great number of codices, is unlike *Mk.* in vocabulary, style, and presentation. In all probability Mr. F. C. Conybeare solved the mystery of its origin by the discovery in 1891 of an Armenian MS. which assigned it to the presbyter *Ariston*, no doubt the Aristion mentioned by Papias as one of the disciples of the Lord.

The "shorter ending" occurs in four uncial MSS. and in others. It is interesting to note that while some MSS. have the shorter instead of the longer ending, there are a number which have both. The shorter ending runs as follows :

"But all that was enjoined them they reported briefly to those who were about Peter. And after this Jesus Himself appeared to them, and from the East and as far as to the West sent forth through them the holy and incorruptible proclamation of eternal salvation."

This ending is even more unlike *Mk.* in vocabulary, presentation, and style than the longer ending.

Are we, then, left without hope of securing the lost ending of *Mk.*? If Matthew only made use of the mutilated *Mk.* this is probably the case. If, however, his copy was un mutilated, then we may reasonably expect from what we know of his use of *Mk.*, that the lost ending, or at least its substance, has been incorporated into *Mt.* This concluding portion could then be recovered by eliminating

from *Mt.* whatever can be shown to be probably derived from another source. The result of this process leaves us with the following :

“ And behold Jesus met them, saying, All Hail ! And they came and held His feet, and worshipped Him. Then saith Jesus to them, Fear not : go, tell My brethren, that they depart into Galilee (cf. *Mk.* xiv. 28), and there they shall see Me.

“ And the eleven disciples went to Galilee, to the mountain where Jesus had appointed them. And when they saw Him they worshipped Him, but some doubted. And Jesus came and spake to them, saying, All authority is given unto Me in heaven and upon earth. Go, therefore, make disciples of all the nations, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you : and behold, I am with you all the days unto the consummation of the age.”

This is much more like *Mk.* than either of the other two endings. If it be the true conclusion, then the Gospel ends with a brevity and dignity like to that with which it opens. Prof. Burkitt thinks that the original *Mk.* may have included much of the first twelve chapters of Acts. This seems highly improbable, as the range of early Apostolic testimony apparently extended from the Baptism of John to the Ascension of Jesus (*vide Acts* i. 22). Moreover, the other three Gospels end with the Ascension. We should, however, expect in *Mk.* some account of the Lord's appearance to Peter. We have it referred to in *1 Cor.* xv. 4 ; *Lk.* xxiv. 34 ; *Jn.* xxi. Yet, significantly enough, the Petrine memoirs in *Mk.* seldom record anything creditable to St. Peter.

It is in *Mt.* that we have Peter prominently and favourably presented. It is possible, then, that *Mk.* contained no account of this Petrine vision of the Risen Lord, although it was a matter of common belief in the primitive Church. So also we have in *Mk.* no account of Peter seeking the empty tomb. This does not surprise us so much, for St. Paul, writing about 56 A.D., makes no mention of the empty tomb; but then neither does he mention our Lord's appearance to the women. Of one thing alone can we be quite certain, that inasmuch as the earlier sections of *Mk.* contain at least five predictions of the Resurrection, the concluding narrative must have included some account of that event.

At this point our brief examination of the Second Gospel must conclude. A comparative study of that Gospel by modern methods gives much support to the tradition of the primitive Church that it contains the Petrine Memoirs of Jesus as remembered, translated, and transcribed by Mark.

The Second Gospel preserves for Christians the reminiscences of an eye-witness. It may not, strictly speaking, be historical narrative, but it consists of the raw material—a recital of actual experience—which must constitute an important element in the sources of those who can rightly claim to be scientific historians.

A minute study of the Second Gospel disposes of the "Christ-Myth" theory of the origin of the Christian Religion, as entirely as it disposes of the theory of the plenary verbal inspiration of Holy Scripture.

The "Christ-Myth" theory put forward in different forms by Jensen, Drews, W. B. Smith, J. M. Robertson, K. Anderson and others, with an extraordinary display of learning, which in this case may be truly described as "knowledge falsely so called," has had a lamentable vogue among the semi-educated. Its main contention that Jesus Christ is a mythical person, and that the Christian Religion is a syncretistic creation of religious emotion and mythopœic fancy, is quite discredited by a careful study of the Second Gospel. Doubtless the writings of J. Weiss, T. J. Thorburn, F. C. Conybeare, P. Wernle, H. Weinel, and others have done much to discredit this latest of Christological heresies, but we believe that recourse to the Second Gospel as studied by modern methods even in an English translation,* is the best way of demonstrating its baseless character. We do not claim that the narrative of Mark is absolutely accurate in all its details. Doubtless it contains blunders; e.g. *Mk.* xiv. 12: "On the first day of unleavened bread, when they used to sacrifice the passover," is incorrect. It was on the 14th Nisan that the paschal lambs were slain, and the 15th Nisan was the first day of unleavened bread (cf. *Lev.* xxiii. 5-6). So also *Mk.* i. 2 wrongly attributes to Isaiah a double quotation of which the opening lines are from Malachi. So also *Mk.* ii. 26 assigns to the high priesthood of Abiathar an event which took place under Ahimelech (though the LXX. has Abimelech).

* E.g. *The Synoptic Gospels arranged in Parallel Columns*, by J. M. Thompson (Clarendon Press, 1910).

The geographical note of *Mk.* vii. 31, "And again He went out from the borders of Tyre and came through Sidon to the Sea of Galilee, through the borders of Decapolis," though the best attested reading, is, says W. C. Allen (*op. cit.*, p. 110), "a very improbable one." It is, he adds, "as if one should speak of passing from Torquay to London by way of Manchester." This led Wellhausen to conjecture that "through Sidon" was a corruption of "to Bethsaida." However, Mark may not have blundered here, but his copyists.

A similar difficulty arises in *Mk.* viii. 10 over Dalmanutha, which may mean in Aramaic "to the parts of," or be a corruption of Migdal-nunia, a place a mile south of Tiberias. But here also Mark may not be to blame.

We have already commented on the difficulty contained in xvi. 2, but these blunders, if such they be—and we may perhaps add to them the possible confusion about Herod Philip in vi. 17,* the rendering of Boanerges as "sons of thunder" in iii. 17, the statement about ablutions being performed by *all* the Jews in vii. 3, 4—merely indicate that in various details, particularly those connected with the Old Testament, Mark was liable to error. But this is a very different thing from regarding him as generally untrustworthy. The testimony of Matthew and Luke to Mark is extraordinarily impressive, not only because it is the earliest testimony, but because it is testimony which consists not in words but in actions. We

* Corrected silently by *Lk.* iii. 19.

must not forget that Prof. Burkitt summarises it thus :

“ The common order of the anecdotes is Mark’s order ; where Matthew deserts Mark’s order, Mark is supported by Luke, where Luke deserts Mark’s order, Mark is supported by Matthew. Matthew and Luke never agree in order against Mark. It is practically the same with the text itself as with the order of the narratives : Mark and Luke agree against Matthew, Matthew and Mark agree against Luke, while the points in which Matthew and Luke agree against Mark are so few and so insignificant in character that it seems unnecessary to postulate the existence of an earlier form of Mark . . . in order to account for them.” *

“ Like all pioneer work ‘ Mark ’ had serious defects, and within a generation it was almost superseded by Matthew . . . , [which is] a second edition of Mark, revised and enlarged. Luke . . . does not seem to have any source that furnished him with what may be described as another *Vita*. . . . St. Mark’s remains the only Itinerary of our Lord’s footsteps that comes to us from the earliest times.” †

We cannot forbear to conclude without yet another citation from this distinguished critic. Dealing with the Messianic ideal of Mark’s Gospel, which Jesus strove to fulfil even by His death, Prof. Burkitt, who regards that ideal as the very core of Mark’s Gospel, notes that Jesus prefixed to it a Prologue—and, we may add, a Prologue which transformed that Jewish ideal of Messiahship into

* *The Earliest Sources for the Life of Jesus*, pp. 35–36.

† *Op. cit.*, p. 129.

the Christian ideal of the Saviour of Mankind—which he thus describes :

“ We call it His Ministry. Why? Because His view of the office of the Man who was predestined to be Messiah was that He should ‘ minister ’ to the needs of God’s people (*Mk.* x. 45). According to Mark, Jesus went up to Jerusalem to die, to be killed, believing that thereby the Kingdom of God would come. And His great resolve has to be judged in the light of its amazing success. *

“ The Kingdoms of the Earth go by
In purple and in gold ;
They rise, they triumph, and they die,
And all their tale is told.

“ One Kingdom only is divine,
One banner triumphs still ;
Its King a servant, and its sign
A gibbet on a hill.” †

* *Op. cit.*, p. 131.

† Cited by kind permission of G. F. Bradby, from *The Way*, published by the Oxford University Press (1921).

A NOTE ON LUKE'S RELATION TO THE SECOND GOSPEL

I THINK the statement about Luke in this citation (pp. 77, 93) may require some modification in the light of Canon Streeter's new theory * of the origin of Luke's Gospel and of the use which Luke has made of Mark. According to this theory, Luke during St. Paul's captivity at Cæsarea wrote a first edition of his Gospel (Proto-Luke). Proto-Luke began with chap. iii. 1, but it did not make use of Mark. Some twenty years later its author expanded his early work by prefixing the stories of the Infancy, by inserting a number of sections from Mark which had not been written when Proto-Luke was composed, and possibly by making a number of minor alterations and additions.

If this theory of the composition of Luke's Gospel and its use of *Mk.* be accepted, it will mean that Luke did have another source besides *Mk.*, and indeed earlier than *Mk.*, which furnished him with a *Vita*. It may be that the source was written, but it seems more probable that it was oral at this early date, and that Luke secured it during his two years' residence at Cæsarea, the Herodian capital.

* "Fresh Light on the Synoptic Problem," *Hibbert Journal*, October, 1921.

But the really important question from our point of view is not whether Luke had access to another *Vita* than that which Mark supplies and an earlier one, but whether it was more true to fact than we have in *Mk.* There seems some reason to doubt this. A careful comparison indicates that *Mk.*, and especially the Marcan order, is to be preferred. So far as material is concerned, there are a number of cases where Luke has secured non-Markan and possibly non-Q material of the highest value, *e.g.* that connected with the Herodian court.

Any comparison of the historical value of *Mk.* with this alleged non-Q source of Proto-Luke is complicated by the difficulty of distinguishing between the original source as it came into Luke's hands and the final form which it assumed in his use of it.

Luke reveals himself in his writings as essentially a literary artist, an enthusiastic Christian missionary, a lover of the miraculous, and a man of deep and beautiful Christian spirit, and it must be added that a man of that temperament is apt to handle his sources as a dramatist, and a poet, and a preacher, and not as a humdrum chronicler or as a scientific historian. The "is" as he finds it in his sources, especially when they deal with narratives of events and the order of events, not sayings and speeches, will be constantly sacrificed to what seems to the author to be "the right," "the fitting," "the effective."

No detailed comparison between Mark and the Proto-Luke is possible here. Three examples must

suffice. (1) Luke's account of the Rejection at Nazareth (*Lk.* iv. 16-30). Here Luke's order is plainly wrong. (a) Although Luke relates this event as occurring at the beginning of the Ministry, the narrative itself indicates by its sentence: "Whatsoever we have heard done at Capernaum do also here in Thine own country," that it had been preceded by a ministry at Capernaum as is related in *Mk.* (vi. 1-6), supported by *Mt.* (xiii. 53-58), the latter (in ix. 1) even calling Capernaum "His own city." This Capernaum ministry is related later by Luke in iv. 31 f. (b) Luke's prefatory statement that Nazareth was where *He had been brought up* is not so accurate as Mark's statement that it was His native place (*εἰς τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ* (vi. 1), supported by *Mt.* xiii. 53. Moreover, the discourse in the synagogue at Nazareth as related by Luke supports Mark, for it contains *πατρίς* (native place) twice, and the whole point of the discourse turns upon it. Hence we seem justified in assuming that while Luke's report of our Lord's discourse is historical or very largely historical, the points in the setting of it where Luke differs from Mark are unhistorical.

(2) The Call of Peter and James and John (*Lk.* v. 1-11). This account has considerable likeness to the account of the call of Simon, Andrew, James, and John in *Mk.* (i. 16-20), supported by *Mt.* (iv. 18-22); but while Luke's account is dramatic in a high degree, it yet lacks the minute "Petrine touches" which, it has been pointed out, characterize Mark's account. When we realize Luke's love of

the miraculous, we can hardly doubt that it was this element in his account which made him prefer it to Mark's account. What seems probable is that Luke has produced a conflate account which, with a remarkable sense of literary and spiritual fitness combines the call of the first disciples with a fishing incident in which St. Peter figured prominently, and of which we have perhaps a doublet in the epilogue of the Fourth Gospel (*Jn.* xxi. 1-13).

(3) The Anointing of our Lord with ointment in *Lk.* vii. 36-50 has parallels with the Anointing in *Mk.* xiv. 3-9 (supported by *Mt.* xxvi. 6-13 and *Jn.* xii. 2-8). Those parallels are that a woman anointed our Lord; that an alabaster flask or box of ointment was used; that the anointing occurred in the house of one Simon; that some who were present viewed the action with disfavour; that Jesus defended the action of the woman. But the differences are much greater. In Luke the anointing takes place in Galilee, to judge by the context, and in the earlier days of the Ministry; in *Mk.* and *Mt.* and *Jn.* it occurs in Bethany a few days before the Passion. The woman in *Lk.* is "a sinner"; in *Mk.* and *Mt.* there is no indication that she is not respectable; John identifies her with Mary the sister of Lazarus. In *Mk.* (supported by *Mt.*) it is the head of Jesus which is anointed. John, however, agrees with Luke in stating that it was His feet. In *Lk.* the woman weeps over His feet and wipes them with her hair. In *Mk.*, supported by *Mt.*, there is no reference to this. In *Jn.* she wipes His feet with her hair. In *Mk.*, supported by *Mt.*

and *Jn.*, the woman is blamed for wastefulness, but our Lord defends her on the ground that she has anointed His body beforehand for its burial, and that as for the poor who might have been helped by the price of the ointment, they are always at hand as subjects for philanthropy. In *Lk.*, however, we have a very striking address delivered to Simon which includes the Parable of the Two Debtors, and the statement that as for the sinful woman, "Her sins which are many are forgiven her, for she loved much."

The narratives of Mark and Luke are both so striking, and especially the words of our Lord which are enshrined in them, that it is impossible not to regard both accounts as historical, but clearly when the differences are so great they must be regarded as accounts of different incidents. That our Lord should be anointed twice during His Ministry by a woman and each time in the house of a Simon is a striking coincidence, but such things are not unknown in history. For instance, on two notable occasions Knaresborough Castle in Yorkshire was captured (in Edward II.'s reign and in the Civil War of 1644), and each time the commander of the attacking force bore the name of Lilleburne. Or, to cite a better-known coincidence, the Temple on Mount Zion was captured in the same month and on the same day of the month by Titus as it had been some five hundred years before by Nebuchadnezzar. Luke may have regarded the incident in *Mk.* as the same as the one he has himself related, or he may have viewed it as different, but, as Sir Frederick

Kenyon points out so convincingly, ancient authors were subject to drastic pressure on their space, and so Luke selected the incident which contained the most obvious evangelical teaching and avoided the difficulties which a reflecting mind might find in the Marcan narrative. And this indeed is characteristic of Luke. He omits Mark's terrible *Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani* from the Cross, and gives us in its place, "Father, forgive them ; for they know not what they do," "To-day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise," "Father, into Thy hands I commend My spirit" : so also, as has been pointed out, Luke gives us the Parable of the Fig-tree instead of the Cursing of the Fig-tree. But while the Christian reader is grateful to Luke for what he has "delivered" to successive generations of Christian readers, it is impossible for the historian to feel that where Luke contradicts Mark he is to be preferred to Mark. Where, however, Luke supplements Mark he seems in a number of cases to be making use of valuable historical sources.

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* To those who cannot read the Gospels in Greek I would venture to recommend the use of *The Synoptic Gospels arranged in Parallel Columns*, by the Rev. J. M. Thompson, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford (published by the Clarendon Press). It is a most excellent book.

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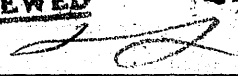
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